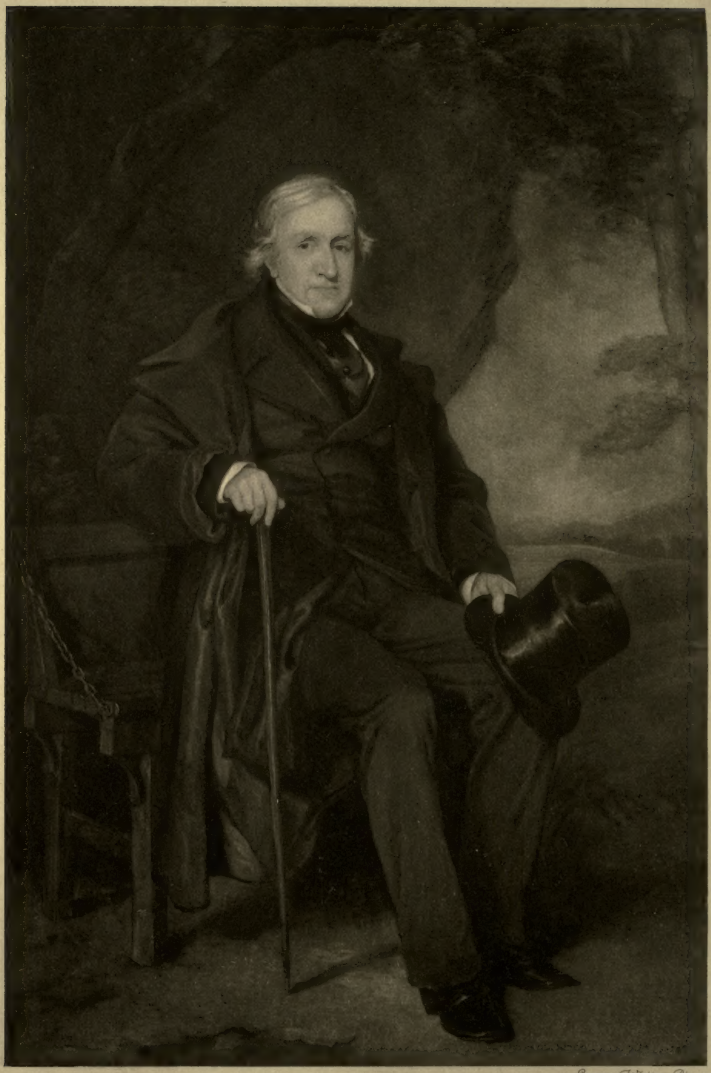
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RECOLLECTIONS OF A LONG LIFE



Emery Walker Ph. sc

Lord Broughton
from a portrait by Sir Francis Grant P.R.A.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A LONG LIFE

BY LORD BROUGHTON
(JOHN CAM HOBHOUSE)

WITH ADDITIONAL EXTRACTS
FROM HIS PRIVATE DIARIES

EDITED BY HIS DAUGHTER
LADY DORCHESTER



WITH PORTRAITS. IN SIX VOLUMES

VOL. VI. 1841—1852

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EPILOGUE

In completing this labour of filial love, I desire to express my thanks to Mr. John Murray, the publisher, and another friend, Lord Rosebery, who alone have seen the proofs and assisted me in deciding doubtful points.

C. Dorchester.

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From a portrait by Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A., in the possession of the Earl of Rosebery.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A LONG LIFE

CHAPTER VIII

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS." 1841.

On January 22 a Cabinet was held at Lansdowne House. Lord Melbourne read to us his draft of the Queen's Speech. This was agreed to with very little alteration.

Labouchere urged the expediency of saying something civil in regard to France; and Lord Clarendon remarked that nothing was so displeasing to Frenchmen as saying nothing about them. Palmerston remarked that, as no actual rupture had occurred, it would be informal to allude to renewal of friendly relations. Palmerston added that, if anything was said concerning France, we ought to tell the truth, and allude to France increasing her army and navy. It was agreed that nothing should be said in the Speech; but that Palmerston, if questioned, should make any remarks in his speech which he might think advisable.

The next day I dined with the Attorney-General. Russell, Labouchere, Macaulay, Samuel Rogers, were of the party. Macaulay was rather overpowering, but he was very powerful.

1841. Samuel Rogers told us two anecdotes worth preserving. He once went with Dr. Fox to see Master Betty in *Hamlet*, and Fox repeatedly said he preferred Betty to Garrick in that character.

Rogers also said a story had been told of the piety of Sheridan in his dying moments. Archbishop Howley told Rogers that the story was true. Sheridan put his hands between the Archbishop's when he was repeating the Lord's Prayer; "But," the Archbishop added, "the dying man was not sensible of what he was doing."

On January 25 I went to a Council at Court. The Queen looked a little paler, and more languid than usual. Prince Albert attended the Council, and was present when Lord Melbourne read the Queen's Speech. From that time he was never absent on those occasions.

Parliament met on January 26. I went to the House rather early, and found Grantley Berkeley on his legs seconding the Address. He did pretty well, until he called public opinion "a lapwing," when there was a titter, from which he had some difficulty to recover. Indeed, it requires great address and popularity to reconcile the House of Commons to a simile or comparison. Sir James Graham, a man of great experience and superior capacity, had a good lesson in this respect, when, as Macaulay said of him, "He went down with the *Royal George*." Mr. Grote followed Berkeley in a set speech, which did not produce much effect; for it did not fall in with the views of either of the great parties.

Sir Robert Peel made one of his own speeches. 1841.
Amongst other things, he took occasion to speak of the blessings of peace, and the importance of the French nation, and the high character of Marshal Soult, and Mons. Guizot, and King Louis Philippe. He regretted that nothing had been said about France in the Speech. He concluded by saying that there was so little in the Speech, it was impossible to oppose it. Sir Robert was heard very coldly by his own people, but much cheered by ours when he sat down.

During the debate I went occasionally into the House of Lords, and heard the Duke of Wellington, who spoke rather in our favour, at the same time protesting against any wish to humiliate France. Brougham, who had made a tirade against us, said he had done a great public service in inducing the Duke to make this declaration.

At our next Cabinet Labouchere introduced the Mysore question—that was, could Mysore be properly called a British possession? I thought this question had been long dead and buried; but Indian questions never die, and I now find this Mysore difficulty somewhat revived (1867).

We separated after having a short talk about Lord Cardigan's absurd trial.[1] Strange to say, I found the Lord Chancellor, the Attorney-General, and Lord Denman, all holding different

[1] Lord Cardigan was arraigned before the House of Lords in consequence of his duel with Captain Tuckett, but was acquitted through a legal quibble.

1841. opinions on the main question—that is, whether, if convicted by his Peers, he could follow the example of the Duchess of Kingston, and make his bow, as she dropped her curtsey. The Lord Chancellor and Lord Langdale said he might; the Attorney-General said he could not. Lord Denman said to me he had never thought of the possibility of such a result.

I dined at the Lord President's, to assist at the pricking of Sheriffs. All the Cabinet were present. We had two or three divisions before we could decide upon the validity of the excuses sent to stave off the disagreeable duty in question. At last we had a list prepared for Her Majesty; and I went then to a reception at Lady Palmerston's. Whilst there I had a good deal of talk with Brunnow and Bulow. Both of them condemned Peel for his eulogy on French politicians. M. de Bourqueney, however, the French Chargé d'Affaires, told Lady Holland that the civil things said, in the debate, of France would do away with the bad impression which the omission in the Speech might have made.

On January 31 I dined at Lady Holland's. Whilst there news came of the Conservatives—that is to say, Mr. Smythe, Lord Strangford's son—having won Cambridge, and, later in the evening, we heard they had won Walsall. The Conservatives were beside themselves with exultation; all but Peel, who did not vouchsafe a smile. Lady Holland seemed in better spirits.

FROM DIARY. 1841.

February 2.—At House of Commons. The Attorney-General brought in his Bill for Reform of the Court of Chancery. He said that there were 1,200 cases undisposed of. Lynch, sitting behind, said, "About half"; upon which Campbell, looking a little red, said to me, "A slight exaggeration."

February 5.—At the House of Commons to-day Serjeant Talfourd moved the second reading of his Copyright Bill, and Macaulay made one of the most remarkable speeches I ever heard in Parliament, evidently got by heart, every word of it; but so conclusive as to demolish the Bill and turn the tide of the majority, which had been either disposed towards it or indifferent—to decided opposition.

I was going away early to dinner, but I could not leave the House whilst he was speaking. Both Sir James Graham and Lord Stanley said that Macaulay had knocked a hole in the bottom of the Bill, and neither of them voted for the second reading.

News arrived of the settlement of the Egyptian question. The Turkish fleet had been surrendered, and Mahomet Ali had received the hereditary Government of Egypt from the Sultan.

February 7.—I dined at Lord Lansdowne's, and met Macaulay, Austin the barrister, Babbage the celebrated mathematician, Luttrell, Vernon Smith, and Lord Ilchester. Our talk was lively and

1841. discursive. I recollected, amongst other things, that Babbage defended monopolies, and said that the interest of the monopoliser would operate as favourably for the public as competition. Austin and Macaulay took the other side, and the controversy was stopped by the announcement of dinner.

Lord Lansdowne told us of Charles Fox that, coming away from Nelson's funeral, some one remarked what a noble and impressive ceremony it was. "Yes," said Fox, "but it is better to be alive." Which is not worth much, except as it shows the satisfaction he had in existence.

February 10.—I went to the christening of the Princess Royal at Buckingham Palace, and dined there.

The infant was shown to us after the baptism. I thought it a fine child; it behaved well during the ceremony. The Queen and Prince stood near the child, and I saw the Prince looking tenderly at it two or three times. The Queen did not turn her head. The dinner was very sumptuous.

I had some conversation in the drawing-room with the Duke of Wellington, who seemed scarcely recovered from his late attack. He spoke very highly on Lord Keane's merits. I mentioned that Lord Ellenborough, in the House of Lords the other evening, had said that he, the Duke, had declared that Keane's brigade, when entering France from Spain in 1814, appeared to him

more like a Roman legion than any troops he had ever seen. The Duke said: "No; I did not say that, but his soldiers were very good—in very good order." 1841.

I afterwards, for the first time in my life, had a good deal of conversation with Prince George of Cambridge, principally on his late visit to Gibraltar and the Mediterranean and Archipelago. He is an agreeable person, and seemed to me to have made good use of his opportunities. He told me he thought King Otho utterly unfit to reign in Greece, and indeed that there were no materials for a monarchy there.

The Duke of Wellington was the only Conservative invited, except those who came in attendance on Royal personages; and even the Duke was there as proxy for Prince Albert's father.

February 12.—Went to the House of Commons, where we had a debate on Lord Keane's pension. Russell moved the resolution shortly, which Lord Howick opposed quietly and strongly. Russell then made as good a speech as could be made in defence of the House giving a pension because the Crown had given a peerage. He first pleased the Conservatives by defending the privileges of the monarchy; and next the Radicals by contending that if none but the rich were to be rewarded by honours from the Crown, the democracy would lose its due share of influence.

1841. Macaulay told me he thought it one of the best speeches he ever heard Russell make. Peel spoke in favour of the pension, and all his party voted for it, so that when we divided we had 195 to 42.

February 19.—Lord John Russell told me to-day that the Queen had said she did not understand how, if we could not carry on the Government with a majority, however small, the Tories could carry it on with a minority. Russell added that the Queen had said she would never send Peel to the House with a message to increase Prince Albert's allowance.

February 27.—At the Cabinet to-day Palmerston told us that Prince Castelcicala had been with him, and, alluding to the rumour that Jerusalem was to be erected into an independent State, had hinted that we might want a king for that State. The Prince added that he could strongly recommend the Prince of Capua for that promotion, and that the choice would be exceedingly acceptable to the King of Naples.

March 1.—The Bishop of London (Blomfield) and Sir Robert Inglis called on me, at the India Board, to talk on a despatch relative to the encouragement said to be given to idolatrous practices in India. I showed them the despatch which I had sketched on the subject, and they agreed to approve it if I consented to fix a date for carrying it into effect. I agreed to do this, and the Bishop then confessed that he was aware

of the difficulties with which I had to contend in settling that much-agitated question. As he said this, I took the liberty of saying that those difficulties were increased by the speeches made by him in the House of Lords. His lordship replied that he was moderate in comparison with some of his own party, and that the Government might, he thought, take the same line in Madras as they had done in Bengal and Bombay. I told him some of the difficulties which stood in our way at Madras. I said, in conclusion, that I would not be answerable for any addition to the despatch, except what I had agreed to in regard to fixing the date. 1841.

At taking leave, he walked up to me and said, "Little did you and I think, thirty-five years ago, that we should meet in this room, in such a capacity, for such objects." I remarked that he was younger than I was. "Yes," said he; "there was one year between us when you left college." I might have added there was nothing strange in his being Bishop of London. An accomplished, persevering member of Trinity College, Cambridge, destined for the Church, might justly pretend to the highest clerical dignity; but that an idle, good-for-nothing fellow, merely a nominal student at the same college, without any advantages from parentage or position, should become one of the Ministers of this great country, and should continue to be so for half a dozen years, was much more uncommon.

1841. FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

Burdett had written to tell me all his old friends were coming to dine with him on March 4, and asked me to meet them. I went very gladly, and met Clive, and Lord Sudeley and his daughter, Robert Knight and his daughter. Pendarves, one of his oldest friends, was also there. He seemed in high spirits, and enjoyed himself much.

He was not very reserved upon matters on which he might have been thought to have changed his mind. For example: he said that the French Revolution had spoilt France; spoke also of Peel's Bill of 1819 having done incalculable mischief; he exposed the folly of the then Cornlaws,—on all of which topics he spoke as I had heard him, when we were alone, in former days.

Clive, very quietly, tried to get an opinion from him as to the pamphlet, then in much vogue, called, "Who is to lead us?—Peel or Stanley?" but he would not give an answer. Except that he was somewhat deaf, I found little change in him; he was exceedingly kind to me. His daughters Clara and Joanna dined with us; and Lady Burdett and Mrs. Trevanion (Susan), a very handsome widow, received us in the drawing-room.

On the evening of March 5 I dined at the Palace. Of the Ministers, the only persons present were Lord Melbourne, Francis Baring, and myself. The household and the Prince were there, of course. Her Majesty and the Prince were in

good spirits, and most amiable to all. When the Queen left the dining-room we had some talk on Lord Keane's Pension Bill, on the ancient and modern mode of warfare, and on matters on which the Prince seemed to me to be very well informed. 1841.

In the drawing-room the Prince gave me an account of his day's sport with the royal stag-hounds. He did not seem to like the crowd which accompanied them. He said that it was not intended to be a public day. "But," added H.R.H., "the Palace cannot keep a secret, so we had two thousand with us: of whom, however, not more than fifty were with us at the taking of the deer." The Queen called me to her, and we had a good deal of talk about India and Lord Auckland. After this we had riddles and charades, of which I proposed one or two that I recollected from old days. H.M. was much pleased, and entered into the spirit of these trifling games much quicker, as I thought, than the other ladies.

Amongst others I proposed Horace Walpole's:

> "In concert, song, and serenade
> My first demands my second's aid;
> To those residing near the Pole
> I would not recommend my whole."[1]

On March 6 I dined at Lord Palmerston's. Lieutenant Shakespear, whose presence at Khiva had given so much disturbance to the Russian Government, was of the party. Afterwards Lady

[1] The answer is Lutestring—a light silk material for ladies dresses.

1841. Palmerston had a reception, as they then began to call an evening party at a Minister's house. Brunnow was there, and renewed with me our discussion on the French attempts to depreciate our Afghan victories, not forgetting the old story of the chances of the Cossack and the Sepoy coming to a collision on the mountains of Western India.

On March 31 we had a Cabinet dinner at Lansdowne House ; and then it was that our host told me some particulars of the mode chosen by Payne Knight for going out of the world. A day or two before this catastrophe he called on the Duchess of Hamilton and asked her to play a favourite air to him on the pianoforte. She complied, and, turning round, saw him leaning against a corner of the room with his face in his hands. He soon recovered himself, and, thanking her very earnestly, took his leave and walked out of the room.

Lord Minto told us that he had a great many letters addressed by Burke to his father, Sir Gilbert Elliot, which showed him to have been, in his private capacity, very pleasing ; although, as a politician, he was stern and unbending. When he divided the great Whig party some of the friends of Mr. Fox called on him, in a body, to remonstrate with him. He treated them as if he had never seen them before ; called them "Sir," and "My Lord," and treated with all the formality of a stranger to them. Lord Minto heard this from Sir Gilbert Elliot.

We then had a good deal of talk about Wilberforce. Macaulay contended that he was an honest man. Russell objected his support of Mr. Pitt, after he had abandoned the slave question. Lord Melbourne defended Mr. Pitt, as being compelled to keep together a great party having most important objects in view. Lord John Russell remarked that was a fair plea for Mr. Pitt, but not for Wilberforce. 1841.

On April 8 the French telegraph gave an account of the settlement of the Chinese dispute, after a battle in the Canton River. The indemnity, six millions of dollars, and the cession of the island of Hong-Kong, appeared to me insufficient.

The next day I received the Indian mail. Lord Auckland was very much dissatisfied with Captain Elliot's arrangement, and I had a letter from Lord Palmerston, expressing his bitter disappointment, and urging the refusal to ratify the treaty, and the recall of Elliot.

On April 21 I dined at a Cabinet dinner at Lord Melbourne's.

Lord John Russell laid before us his scheme for the defence of our American provinces, and also of the Canadian debt, and of the loan to be guaranteed by us to the provinces.

In regard to the defences of the Canadas, Russell told us that he had received a memorandum on the subject from the Duke of Wellington, recommending fortifications, involving great

1841. expense; and adding that, although he would not recommend works on so great a scale, he must insist on works to a certain extent. The Duke added that he considered British North America as an integral portion of the British Empire. In this view all seemed to agree; although Labouchere remarked that he should not consider the loss of it as so great a calamity as some of us seemed to think.

After we went into the drawing-room we had a long discussion on China. Lord Minto had previously confessed to me that his relation, Elliot, had seemed to have lost his head; and, by his long residence in China, to have become more of a Chinese than an Englishman. I was very glad to hear him say this, and Lord Palmerston said that Elliot had disregarded his instructions in every particular.

On April 24 I dined at Baring Wall's, my next-door neighbour but one. The party consisted of Lord Elliot and his wife, Lord Ashburton and his wife and daughter, Van De Weyer, Lady de Dunstanville, Labouchere and his wife, Sydney Smith, and, of all men in the world, William Bankes. I confessed I was surprised at his appearance, and I saw that my late colleague was much annoyed. He scarcely spoke a word, but we had a pleasant day. Sydney Smith quizzed the Americans, in spite of Lady Ashburton, and said, amongst other things, they disliked anything small being found on their continent, so they called a fly a *flioio*, as

if it was represented by two syllables instead of one. Lord Ashburton looked a little grave; but Lady Ashburton burst out laughing, and was highly diverted. There was not much in the joke, anyway; but there was something irresistible in the manner of telling it. Sydney told of the first Marquess of Lansdowne, that Mr. Fox and a friend went to tell him the Bank of England had suspended cash payments. Lord Shelburne, as he then was, put his thumbs into the arm-holes of his waistcoat, and said: "Gentlemen, I am very sorry to hear it; I am all for simplicity and publicity." The late Lord Holland used to tell this story admirably. 1841

Lord Ashburton was very agreeable; he told us that a foreign picture-dealer, recommending to him the portrait of some famous merchant, said that Lord Ashburton being himself in that line, ought to buy it; and, pointing to the face of the portrait, added: "Voyez comme il est fourbe." After dinner, in the drawing-room, I had a good deal more talk with Lord Ashburton. We principally talked of the Reform Bill of 1832. He told me that it had not gone too far, except in the case of the Metropolitan Boroughs. I told him I was afraid it had not gone far enough, and might lead to another Reform Bill. He then spoke of Sir Francis Burdett, and asked me if I could at all account for the change in his politics. This, from the late Alexander Baring, I thought rather a bold question; and then Lord Ashburton

1841. added that he did not agree with Burdett any more than he did with Windham, when he changed; but he could not help admiring them both. He then spoke in terms of the highest praise of the American United States; and declared that, in his opinion, the greatest of all calamities to England would be a war with them. Speaking of the increase of wealth amongst them, he mentioned that, when he was in Connecticut forty-five years ago, there was only one four-wheeled carriage in the whole State; and Senators, Judges, and Generals travelled in buggies, with their wives and daughters.

I went to the Levee on April 28 and presented addresses of congratulation on the birth of the Princess Royal. At the Levee the Queen told me of the death of the President of the United States, which I mistook, and thought H.M. had alluded to some news of the *President* ship. However, in the evening my mistake was rectified, and the death of President Harrison was left without doubt.

On April 29 Mr. Walter took his seat for Nottingham. He was introduced by Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Fielden. I thought that my old friend might as well have avoided this triumph, considering that Walter had succeeded by beating my friends. However, our opponents liked him the better for this, and cheered vehemently when he brought Mr. Walter to the table.

At the House of Commons we renewed the

debate on our Irish Bill. Hume made a most abusive speech, and gave us the advice never to attempt to conciliate anybody, telling us that the change from £5 to £8 in our franchise had conciliated nobody; on which some one cried out, "Oh yes! Slaney." When we divided, our numbers were 289 against 300. 1841.

There was much crowding on the floor of the House, and great anxiety to hear what Russell would say. I suppose it was thought we should resign, and indeed, Gally Knight asked me whether we should positively bring on our Budget on Friday.

In spite of our defeat, on Friday, April 30, Baring brought forward his Budget. His opening was clumsy, and not well received; but when he came to the main proposal of all his plan, the reduction of the sugar and timber duties, the cheering was very general, and I thought no one looked displeased, except Sir Robert Peel. In fact, all our friends were much pleased at our having disappointed certain sinister hopes.

FROM DIARY.

May 1.—Russell Ellice told me to-day that our Budget[1] has raised a whirlwind in the city, and any Minister would have been lynched that had shown himself there. No one pleased.

[1] The principal feature of the Budget was an adjustment of sugar and timber duties, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer adopted Lord John Russell's proposal for fixing the duties on imported corn. This scheme ultimately led to the breaking up of the Ministry.

1841. I heard at Cabinet rumours of vote of no confidence and entire disapproval of Duke of Wellington of our conduct. Peel, they say, hesitates. I think it by no means improbable, indeed most likely, that we shall be defeated and forced to resign; but we have done right.

May 2.—I dined at the Dilettanti Society. I sat next to Sir Augustus Foster, a very agreeable gentleman; and, on the other side of me, was Lord Rosebery, who told me two pieces of news, which were far from agreeable; one was that a friend of his and mine had destroyed himself, and the other that Robert Gordon had resigned his place at the Treasury in consequence of our projected Repeal of the Corn-laws. This looks very like a falling House!

When Lord Melbourne heard of the resignation he said, "This hits me harder than anything else." Stanley called the retiring gentleman a shabby fellow for leaving the Government because he thought they were on their last legs, and he d——d the gentleman heartily. Gordon attempted a reply, the gist of which was, that there was one comfort in quitting office—viz. he should no longer be d——d by Stanley.

May 3.—In the evening of this day I went to the House of Commons, and had a specimen of lawyers' modes of dealing with contemporary history. Mr. Kelly, in withdrawing his Bill on the Punishment of Death, said he had been

opposed by the whole force of the Government; whereas the fact was, he had been mainly supported by our friends, although Lord John Russell and a few of his supporters had voted with the opponents of the Bill. But this is, or was, the way that politicians—otherwise very honest and truth-speaking—try to blacken and depopularise their opponents. 1841.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

On May 7 I went to the House of Commons after eight o'clock, and heard that Russell had made a most masterly speech, and had opened with an explanation of the whole of the Government plan. Even the Tories cheered when any one praised his speech. Mr. Hogg hailed our approaching downfall as a national benefit, at which the country would rejoice. Considering our dealings with India, he might have spared this taunt; but the party applauded warmly.

We had a Cabinet the next day, and again discussed the vital question. Opinions seemed rather more favourable in the affirmative than at our last meeting. Still, Lord Melbourne said nothing decidedly in favour of dissolution, nor did Russell.

I asked what they meant by bringing forward measures they were sure to lose, unless they meant to appeal to the people. Russell said he had not been sure of losing them. I reminded him of what Lord Melbourne had said:

1841. "You are bringing forward three great measures, and raising all the great interests against you, without being sure of carrying either of them." Baring said he thought he might have carried his reduction of sugar and timber duty. I re-replied, "No, not if you added Repeal of the Corn-laws to them."

I then said that I did not think the question of dissolution depended upon whether or not we should get a majority in the new Parliament. The appeal to the country was for the purpose of knowing its opinion. If for us, we should go on; if against us, we should resign. Peel had done the same in 1834–5, and had not retired until three months after he knew the Parliament was against him.

Lord Melbourne alluded to what the Lords might do in regard to refusing supplies in the interval before the dissolution. Palmerston said if the Lords should take so factious a line there were means of dealing with them. Lord Melbourne shook his head.

The Lord Chancellor gave his opinion decidedly for dissolution, and asked what our party would think, and what the country would think, of our having made such a movement merely to turn ourselves out. He added that he believed it would be the ruin of the Whigs for years to come; and either the Tories or the Chartists, or an unnatural coalition of both, would misgovern and destroy the State.

FROM DIARY. 1841.

I must say that no one can have given a more impartial opinion than myself, for I shall not go back to Nottingham, and have a great repugnance to looking elsewhere for a seat. After representing Westminster so long, and maintaining, I trust, there, and even at Nottingham, a character somewhat above the ordinary level of politicians, I think I should lower myself by dropping down to some insignificant and notoriously venal constituency, or even by standing a contest for some large place upon the only terms on which such battles are now fought; for as a Minister I should have no chance at any town where ultra-Radical or anti-Poor-law pledges would be required. The upshot, therefore, may be that I may have no seat, and may retire from office. The general rumour, indeed, is that I am to be made a Peer, which is not true, and to which, even if it were offered to me, I have many, I will not say insuperable, objections.

May 9.—Dined at Lady Holland's. Met Lord J. Russell and Lord Spencer. Lady Holland kissed Lord John[1] when he came into the room, and wished him joy. Ord and his wife there, not so pleasant as usual.

I had a long conversation with Lord Spencer on our position. He said he entirely concurred in our measures, and, if the country gave signs

[1] Lord John Russell's first wife died in 1838, and in 1841 he married Lady Frances Elliot, daughter of 2nd Earl of Minto.

1841. of approving them, thought we should be justified in dissolving Parliament.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

On May 11 I went to the Levee, which was very full. Sir Henry Mildmay told me that the crowd came to see Ministers resign, as if such sights were ever seen. Most of the Ministers were present, and not at all out of spirits. Lord Melbourne was particularly gay.

At the Cabinet, May 13, we waited for Lord Melbourne, who was with the Queen. When he came in he seemed out of sorts; and when Russell opened the question—*i.e.* "Dissolution or Resignation?"—Lord Melbourne muttered that he did not like to advise the Crown to take a course in opposition to Lords and Commons, unless he was sure of a fair majority in the next Parliament. Russell said that our friends would think we abandoned them if we did not appeal to the people, and added that the great majority of our friends were decidedly for dissolution. But he confessed that he saw great difficulties in our way, and did not know decidedly what course we ought to pursue in order to get our Sugar Duties Bill passed.

Palmerston gave his opinion in a quiet but forcible little speech. He combated Lord Melbourne's doctrine in regard to placing the Crown in a disagreeable position, and he added that if we were to allow the Tories to come in, and

then were to oppose measures which we ourselves thought were for the benefit of the country, and which were generally approved, we should place the Crown in a worse position than if the sense of the people were taken at once. As to a vote of censure against us in Parliament, or a refusal to pass the sugar duties, he would not resign in consequence of the first; but he thought the other would give us the best possible excuse and opportunity for resigning. The party then would feel we had done all in our power; and if the Tories interfered to prevent the exercise of the Royal prerogative, let the Tories be responsible. 1841.

Lord Palmerston's arguments seemed to have a good deal of effect on Lord Lansdowne, and even Morpeth and Macaulay confessed that, if they could be sure of the Tories refusing to pass the sugar duties, they would agree with Palmerston.

Russell said that he agreed in all Palmerston had advanced; so did the Lord Chancellor, who contended against the doctrine that the Queen, by dissolving Parliament, put herself in opposition to any great constitutional party in the State. How did the matter stand? We had proposed certain matters to the House of Commons; the House rejected them. Well, we then ask the opinion of the constituencies. Suppose they reject them; we have done our duty, and retire from office. What is there wrong in such a course of proceeding?

Still Lord Melbourne expressed a great dislike

1841. of dissolution, as being against all precedent, except in cases where the people were notoriously against the Parliament, as in 1786, in 1807, and 1831. I quoted Sir R. Peel's dissolution in 1834; but Lord Melbourne would not admit that was a case in point. The question was deferred until after the division.

On May 17 the debate on sugar and timber duties was resumed. Peel rose about ten o'clock, and spoke for two hours and a half. The last hour of his speech was a sort of appeal against the proceedings and policy and general character of the Government, which he accused of maintaining its position by agitation; giving, however, credit to some members of it for individual capacity in their departments. He spoke evidently as if on the eve of being called upon to take office. He gave no hint as to his own financial views; on the contrary, declared he should not reduce the sugar duties next year. He said, moreover, that he would not give an opinion on the reduction of the timber duties until he had seen the correspondence between Russell and Lord Sydenham on the Canada timber question. He did tell us that he preferred the sliding scale to the present fixed duty on corn; but he admitted that the scale might be altered. He went so far as to say that, if he came into office, he should ask for some proof of the confidence of the House, which was understood to mean a vote of credit. He then began to be

jocose, and told us that when our Chancellor of the Exchequer, sitting on an empty chest, angled for opinions, *he would not bite*; and then he giggled, as if he had said something exceedingly funny. 1841.

Palmerston replied in a speech of great spirit and intelligence, beginning with an assertion which called forth much ironical cheering, when he said that the superiority of the speeches on our side was as manifest as the superiority of the cause. This, as I before observed, raised a great cheer against him; but it arrested the attention of the House, and he kept that alive during a speech of nearly two hours.

Russell then addressed the House for a short time, calmly and slowly, in a subdued tone, but firmly repelling Peel's attack on us for keeping office against the sense of the House, contrasting our conduct with his in 1835. He appealed to our majority of 21, and said that the result of single elections was no proof of the feeling of the country. This hint about dissolution raised a loud cheer from our friends. Russell added that he should have another opportunity of discussing the corn question. These words were followed by another loud cheer from our friends, which roused Peel, who then declared that if the appointment of Lord Londonderry had been negatived by the House, he should have resigned. At the division the numbers were 281 to 317—rather a smaller majority than we expected.

1841. The question then came, Should we divide on Russell's resolution? Our Stanley advised Russell not to divide again, to which, after some hesitation, he assented, and the resolution was negatived. It was not far from four o'clock in the morning when we separated.

On May 19 I went to Lansdowne House, where a Cabinet was summoned. It was generally confessed that the state of the country had become more favourable to dissolution than we had expected. I read a letter from Mr. Wakefield at Nottingham, stating that a great change had taken place in public feeling since the announcement of our measures, and that the Chartists and the opponents of the new Poor-law were giving way. At last Lord Melbourne, saying we were as fit to decide on the question as we ever should be, took a pen in hand and proceeded to ask our opinions *seriatim*.

First, Baring, who said "Dissolve;" then Hobhouse, "Dissolve." Lord Normanby said he should not oppose the general sense of his colleagues, but had given his opinion merely to express his dissent and dislike of dissolution. The Lord Chancellor spoke shortly, but very strongly, in favour of dissolution, and said that, "If he had been at the Cabinet which agreed to the Budget, he would never have been a party to the proposed measures, unless he had been assured that, in case Parliament refused to adopt them, an appeal would be made to the constituencies." Lord John

Russell spoke shortly, but very decidedly, in favour of dissolution; saying that it had been called a leap in the dark; now he, for one, was prepared to take that leap. Lord Morpeth said that he was a very impartial adviser, for he had been much against dissolution; but the accounts he had received, both from Yorkshire and Ireland, had convinced him that we should be justified in making the appeal to the people. Labouchere said that, on the whole, he was for dissolution. Lord Minto gave a hesitating consent for dissolution. Palmerston made a short but decided speech in favour of it. Clarendon said that we should betray our party, desert our principles, and disappoint the country, if we did not dissolve. Macaulay confessed that he was a convert, and should vote for dissolution. Lord Duncannon said "Dissolve." Lord Lansdowne said we were clearly not doing anything unconstitutional in advising a dissolution. He confessed that, at first, he saw clearly that we should not gain by it; but that now he began to doubt as to the result—that was something; he should, therefore, although with much dislike of it, vote for dissolution. 1841.

Our master, the Prime Minister, now delivered his sentiments. He spoke slowly, and with great earnestness. The substance of what he said was that "He had, from the first, expressed his strong disinclination to dissolve. He disliked an appeal to the people when their passions were raised on

1841. any subject; but more especially on such a subject as food." He added, "That no terms could express his horror, his detestation, his absolute loathing, of the attempt to enlist religious feelings against the Corn-laws. He thought these laws ought to be altered; but deliberately, and not under excitement. He added that he was quite convinced that the appeal would not turn out favourably for us. Nevertheless, finding that the party wished for a dissolution, and that the majority of his colleagues wished for it, he should not oppose his opinions to theirs, and would advise the Queen accordingly." He said this with much, and serious, expression of feeling, and almost in tears.

The determination being thus come to, Lord Melbourne resumed his usual manner, and said, "Now let us settle exactly what advice we are to give the Queen. You may as well be told that the Queen is strongly for this step; and that if we recommend it, she will adopt it, and very naturally, for any change of Ministers is very distasteful to her, and she will put it off as long as she can." He then said he supposed we intended to propose the old sugar duties; and, having got them, and any other necessary supply, to dissolve the Parliament. Lord Melbourne concluded by saying that, whether the Tories opposed the sugar duties or not, it would be trifling not to carry our measures into effect. Having made up our minds to dissolve, we ought to dissolve—we must. But Lord Lansdowne and Lord Normanby protested against

being pledged to go on with the Government, if the supplies were stopped. I then ventured to say that, as we had made up our minds not to go on with this Parliament, we ought not to be deterred from our purpose by any vote of theirs. Some opposition was raised to this; but the Lord Chancellor prudently remarked it would be time enough to settle this matter when the question came before us. Thus ended the important part of our deliberations. We agreed not to make any public declaration of our intentions until Lord Melbourne had seen the Queen, and received H.M.'s commands. He went away to the Palace immediately. 1841.

I dined that evening with Lord Zetland, and sat next to Stevenson, the American Minister; amongst other things that sounded strange to my ears, he said he considered Lord John Russell a *strong* man. I heard afterward that he alluded to intellectual, not to physical strength. He praised Lord Palmerston much, and himself more, asserting that he it was that had preserved peace between America and England.

The next day I went to the House of Commons, and heard Baring move that "the House do resolve itself into a Committee on the annual sugar duties." The Tories looked dumbfounded; Peel turned as pale as ashes; and the surprise on the opposite benches became more manifest when Russell quietly moved that the House, on its rising, should adjourn to the following Monday.

1841. Friday, May 21, was kept as the Queen's birthday, and there was a great crowd at Court, and many fine equipages, chiefly of Tories I was told. A crowd was assembled at the gates of the Palace, and some of us were noticed more or less agreeably. Melbourne, Russell, and Palmerston were the favourites of the day; but even these were partially hissed, which I did not account for until I saw Sir Robert Peel's carriage close to mine. I was afterwards told that an Irishman, a Peer, and very zealous for our opponents, acted as fugleman to the party. Lord Melbourne, at Court, was in great spirits. When I mentioned to him that I had heard of Lord Normanby's opposition to our dissolution, in the Cabinet, from a lady, he said, with a laugh, "It is always so, when Ministers have wives; the man tells the woman, and the woman can't, for the life of her, keep the secret. She betrays it by the very manner in which she contradicts what she knows to be false."

The Queen looked jaded, and graver than usual.

At the House of Commons, on May 24, Sir Robert Peel gave notice of a motion for the Thursday following. The terms of the motion were to this effect:

"That Ministers do not possess the confidence of the House sufficiently to enable them to carry measures which they deem essential for the public service; and that their continuance in office, under such circumstances, is at variance with the spirit of the Constitution."

This announcement was made with the most solemn pomposity, and the cheering of the Tories was very great. 1841.

I went to the House on Thursday and heard Peel move his motion. He spoke with moderation, but not with his usual effect. The debate was resumed the next day, and was concluded by a very bitter speech from Sir James Graham, who was very near running foul of a simile; so near, that Macaulay called out to him, "Beware of similes; remember the *Royal George*." This caution, however, was not necessary, for Graham concluded a very telling speech by turning Lord John Russell's quotation against us: *Dabit Deus his quoque finem*—"Thank God we have got rid of them at last."

On May 29, I dined at Lord Palmerston's, and had a most agreeable time. Lady Clanricarde was there, Lord and Lady Cowper, Sir John M'Neill, Lord Normanby, Lord Melbourne, Macaulay, and Lord and Lady Jocelyn. Lord Melbourne showed himself well read on some points of Mahometan controversy. Of this I knew nothing; but M'Neill told me that he was quite surprised at his knowledge. He mentioned that there is no proof in the Koran that Mahomet, or the compilers of the work, had ever seen the Old or the New Testament; and he added that preaching the Unity of God, in opposition to the Trinity and the Platonic Mysteries of the only Christian Church with which Mahomet was acquainted, was a great reform.

1841. Afterwards there was a party when Lord Palmerston introduced me to Sir Charles Napier, then called Commodore Napier. He was not, I thought, quite so bluff and uncouth a man as I expected to find him. He was then a candidate for Marylebone. Palmerston also introduced me to Admiral Elliot, a very different man from Napier. He was mild, and even gentle, in his manners; but still decisive enough in giving his opinion. We talked a long time together about China. He seemed to me almost to regret that the expedition had been undertaken at all. He thought that Charles Elliot's terms were as much as we had a right to demand, and recommended that Pottinger should be instructed accordingly. I listened to him, of course, with becoming deference; but, to my mind, he was not the man to send on this enterprise, even if his health had not failed him.

May 31.—I drove to Richmond, and dined at the Star and Garter, with Lady Holland; she had a small party with her—Stanley and his wife, Mr. Allen, Sir Stephen Hammick, and Colonel and Lady Mary Fox. I asked Stanley how the vote on Peel's motion would turn out. He said, he did not know, nor did any one else know; it might be carried by one or two either way. The general opinion was we should win.

On June 4 I went to the House of Commons to be present at the division on Peel's motion. We divided at near three in the morning. No one

knew which way the vote would turn. The greatest excitement prevailed in the body of the House. The Tories were told before us. They were 312; and when poor Lord Douglas Halliburton was wheeled in from our lobby, certainly looking more dead than alive, many jumped on the opposite benches, and called out, "Shame, shame!" The tellers then struggled through the crowd and came to the table. When it was seen that Fremantle was at the right hand of the tellers, the Tories became perfectly frantic with delight. They roared, and stamped, and clapped hands, and repeated their acclamations when the numbers were announced—312 to 311. The majority of one would not have been thus hailed had not the general belief been that we had won the vote; and we had the poor consolation of thinking that we ought to have won it, for five or six of our usual supporters stayed away without an excuse. It was, however, highly creditable that 312 gentlemen were found to stand by a falling party, especially as many of them who stood by us were sure to lose their seats in consequence of their vote. There was not a single Tory who did not either vote or pair on that occasion. 1841.

At the House of Commons, on June 7, Russell made his statement of the intentions of Ministers. He said that, in our present position, we did not think it respectful to the House to bring forward the question of the Corn-laws. He denied positively Peel's assertion that we had a foul and

1841. a fair weather Budget, and brought out the former merely because we had been in minorities. Lord John then announced that Parliament would be dissolved after a vote in supply for six months had been taken. If we were beaten in the new Parliament, he said we should, of course, resign. If we were not beaten, we should proceed with our announced measures. He then sat down amidst loud cheers.

Peel then rose, and made a very temperate speech in the same tone with Russell. He at once retracted his allegation as to the two Budgets, but said that, if we intended to bring forward our reduction of duties, some announcement to that effect ought to have been made in the Speech from the Throne. He did not question the propriety of dissolution, but would leave the whole responsibility of it with the Ministers. He could not, however, allow the dissolution to be delayed longer than necessary, nor the assembling of the new Parliament; and he added that, unless Russell would give him a guarantee that no such delay should occur, he could not consent to give supplies for more than three months. He was loudly cheered. Russell rose again, and said that, although he was well acquainted with the inconvenience of giving such guarantees, yet, on this occasion, and acquainted as he was with the wishes of Lord Melbourne, he did not hesitate to give the required assurance.

Peel cheered him; so did Graham and Stanley,

who looked towards me and nodded. Peel then again rose, and said that he was perfectly satisfied, and had not expected any other answer. 1841.

On June 11 I dined at Lady Holland's. Amongst other curiosities, she offered to show me W. Windham's journal, and told me some anecdotes of that clever man, which did not quite tally with what I had heard of him from others, nor, indeed, with what has been since published.

June 13.—After much reflection and hesitation, I determined upon being a candidate for Nottingham with Mr. Larpent, and I made preparations for leaving London the next day. I dined with the Duke of Sussex, and sat next to a very agreeable young lady, Lady Jane Bouverie. In the course of the evening the Duchess of Inverness came to me and assured me that H.R.H. was as much a friend of the party as ever, and all that he required was a little attention.

Dining this day, June 17, with Lord Hill, I sat next to Lord John Russell, and had a good deal of talk with Sir Willoughby Cotton, who has just returned from his command in Afghanistan, a portly-looking, grey-headed hero. The Duke of Bedford was also of the party, and pleased me much by the tone of pride and satisfaction in which he spoke of his brother John.

Lord Hill was no joker, but he said something which made Russell and me laugh heartily. The Duke of Sussex told us that Lord Rancliffe, calling on Prince Polignac on a fast-day, found him

1841. prostrate on a cross, on the floor. Says Lord Hill, "I wish some fellow had come in, and nailed him to it."

Both Mr. Larpent and myself came off triumphant at the Nottingham election; but the elections elsewhere were against us, and it was calculated that our opponents in the new Parliament would have a majority of not less than fifty. Peel has been making an insolent speech at Tamworth. The man cannot bear prosperity. He struggled with the storms of fate manfully in 1835, but is impatient when the sun shines!

On August 14 we had our last Cabinet dinner at Lord Melbourne's house in South Street. We had very little politics at dinner; and when, afterwards, Lord John Russell asked Lord Melbourne whether he had anything to propose, the latter smiled, and said, "No, nothing." We talked of the new appointments. Palmerston remarked that he should be sorry to have Lord Aberdeen at his office, and would have preferred Stanley. Russell told us he should attend at the Colonial Office every day for an hour or two, to inform Lord Stanley of his views. Lord Melbourne laughed at this, and said that he never thought of his office after he had left it. Russell spoke highly of Lord Ellenborough, as did Lord Melbourne, who said that he spoke more to the point than any other man in the House of Lords, and took more pains with his subject.

I could not say that we had a mournful meeting.

The Lord Chancellor was graver than usual, so was Lord Palmerston, so was Lord Clarendon. Russell talked a good deal, and very agreeably after dinner. Lord Melbourne himself behaved much in his ordinary manner, perhaps with a little more freedom than at other times. He said, amongst other things, that Peel was quite right in not consulting his party as to the choice of Speaker. It was the only way to act under such circumstances, or indeed, under any circumstances. He might ask the opinion of the Duke of Wellington or one or two friends, but no Prime Minister should run about asking advice. 1841.

Lord Melbourne remarked to me that no Government can long maintain its popularity. It must uphold authority. Even Lord Grey's Cabinet, so early as 1831, was obliged to insert a passage in the King's Speech denouncing violence and turbulence. This was enough to make it suspected of designs against liberty.

On August 18 I attended our last Cabinet at Lord Melbourne's. Lord Melbourne read the Queen's Speech to us, and went over it, paragraph by paragraph.

The next day I went to the House of Commons. We were not summoned to the Lords until near three o'clock. There were a good many new faces; but, to do our opponents justice, there was no unseemly triumph in their looks, or their manner.

Lord Worsley moved the appointment of Lefevre to the Chair, in a neat speech. Peel

1841. made a short speech, explaining why he did not oppose Lefevre. He dwelt principally upon precedents. Except referring too much to our conduct in 1835, he made an agreeable speech, highly complimentary to Lefevre. When he took his place in the Chair, there was much cheering on all sides.

August 23.—I went to Brooks's. The Duke of Bedford showed me a copy of a letter which he was about to send to Lord Melbourne, tendering the resignation of the Duchess of her place in the Queen's household, on the supposition, of course, of Lord Melbourne's retirement. I thought it was a very proper thing to do, and done in a very proper way. I told the Duke I hoped all the others of the Queen's ladies would adopt the same course.

The Duke then gave me a few particulars of Her Majesty's last visit to Woburn. One of them struck me as very much in character. When reading her answer to the address presented by the magistrates of Bedford, in which mention was made of the principles by which the house of Russell had always been distinguished, she turned round, and curtsied to the Duke, with a grace much enhanced by its apparent sincerity. The Duke then talked of the various sayings attributed to the Queen, in regard to Peel and his party. The Duke said he did not believe half of them; and he did know that, when Peel presented his list of Ministers, at the last change of

Ministers, and hoped Her Majesty did not object to any of them, the Queen replied that she could not object; but there were some in the list that she was sorry to see, as she could not forget the principles in which she had been brought up, nor the party with which she had, from infancy, been associated. 1841.

I dined this day at Lord John Russell's full-dress dinner at the Foreign Office. Mark Phillips, and the mover and seconder of the proposed Address, were of the party. I sat next to Russell, who had been to Windsor in the morning, and he told me the Queen was out of spirits. I thought Russell himself, and Palmerston, out of sorts; but, towards the end of the feast, some of the party began to be waggish, and put Mark Phillips up to propose the health of Lord John. Russell made a short acknowledgment, but said that it was a breach of discipline, and he concluded with saying that their position would shortly be altered, as they would have less labour, and no salary. It was attempted, then, to make John Dundas sing; and he, being a little tipsy, was about to comply, when I rose and broke up the party. Sir George Grey laughed at my caution; but it would have been a bad joke, and would have got into the newspapers.

Parliament was opened by commission. I did not go to the House of Commons until seven o'clock. I heard Disraeli reply to Labouchere in his usual tone and manner; that was, to my mind,

1841. very offensive. Amongst other matters, he alluded to my assertion as to the value of the support of the Crown; but in so doing he adopted Lord Stanley's version of what I had said, and took no notice of my correction of that misstatement. He censured us for retaining office after it was manifest that the elections were going against us. When he said this, both Graham and Stanley gave a negative shake of head. Young Bernal, in a maiden, but not a modest, speech, attacked Disraeli as an apostate from his former principles. He seemed to have forgotten his audience, and repeatedly said "Gentlemen" instead of "Sir," which amused the House much. Sir Charles Napier, the Admiral, then spoke, and was listened to most respectfully. He also seemed to forget recent occurrences, and said he hoped the Sultan's authorities in Egypt would act in conformity with *his lordship's* directions. Lord Pollington made an insolent speech. Then Roebuck made a good and temperate speech. He was well listened to. The upshot of his address was, that the Whigs had lost power because they had not supported popular opinions, and had listened too much to our evil genius on the opposite benches. For Peel he protested that he had a greater dislike than for us, and he gave a short sketch of Sir Robert's career. I thought he was wrong in his main assumption that we should have been supported by the people against Peel and the Conservative constituencies of that day. Muntz, the

M.P. for Birmingham, conspicuous for his beard, in those days a novelty, spoke next, and then Ewart moved the adjournment. It was only half-past eleven o'clock, and Sir Robert Peel, passing me at the bar, said, "This is beginning very lazily"; but Peel returned to the House and repeated his complaint publicly. 1841.

The next day the amendment to our Address in the Lords was moved by Lord Ripon. . . . Lord Melbourne spoke, but did not do so well as usual. He was too jocose, and treated the change of Government and the consequent crisis as matter for merriment. Lord John Russell afterwards told me that Lady Palmerston, who was in the House and heard him, was much vexed at her brother's frivolity.

The Duke of Wellington spoke next, and objected strongly to the Speech of the Queen previously to the dissolution, as he thought it mixed up the feelings of Her Majesty too much with those of her Ministers. At the same time he gave Lord Melbourne credit for having instructed the Queen in the constitutional law of the country —a fact which he said was communicated to him by Her Majesty herself. The Duke of Wellington concluded by charging Lord Melbourne with having changed his opinion on the corn-laws.

Lord Melbourne, in a short reply, confessed he had, and added, "The fact is, we are always changing our opinions," at which there was a roar of laughter. The Duke of Richmond de-

1841. clared he should vote against us; but that, if the incoming Ministers took up our measures, he would turn them out, as he had brought them in.

I afterwards went to the House of Commons to hear the adjourned debate. Peel and his friends were very attentive to every speaker. They behaved with the manners of conquerors, listening patiently to a beaten party, but certainly not intending to speak if they could help it. My old friend and fellow-traveller, H. Grattan, made a speech which nearly suffocated me with laughter. Indeed, every one laughed except Peel, who looked very grave.

August 27.—Lord Erroll brought down the Queen's answer to the Address from the Lords. H.M. thanked their lordships for the attention which they had promised to pay to the subjects connected with trade and the Corn-laws, and added that she would consider the other important matters contained in the Address, those matters being the recent change of Ministers.

Going to the House of Commons in the evening, I heard Peel make a speech. It was, I thought, good for his purpose and position, but it gave more pleasure to our friends than his own.

Russell rose at a quarter-past twelve. He defended our Government manfully, and said that our policy had been successful both at home and abroad, adding that the amendment itself did not open any ground of complaint against us. He reviewed our Budget, and dwelt a long time on

the corn question. He stated that the majority against us had been procured, in a great measure, by misrepresentation, and by appealing to the vulgar feeling against the Poor-law. He instanced the conduct of Wortley in the West Riding and his proposed amendment in the House of Commons, the effect of which would be to place in power Peel and Stanley and Graham, the staunch supporters of the Poor-law. In conclusion, he said he did not complain of the language or the mode of attack resorted to by his opponents either now or on previous occasions. He admitted the numerical superiority of our opponents, and hoped their measures would contribute to the happiness and prosperity of the nation. 1841.

We divided at half-past two in the morning, and were beaten by 360 to 269. I walked home, and got to Berkeley Square by half-past three in the morning, most happy that this long agony had ended at last.

CHAPTER IX

1841. FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

I dined this day, August 29, with the Duke of Sussex, at Kensington Palace. There was a large party; several of the retiring Ministers were present, and, amongst them, Russell, with whom I had a good deal of conversation. He told me that Lord Melbourne had received two long letters from the Queen on Saturday; and he added that he, himself, had heard from Her Majesty. The Queen, in her letter to Lord John, said that, although prepared for the blow, it had not fallen less heavily on her; adding that she deeply deplored the loss of those who had served her, and served the country, so long and so faithfully; and she concluded, in reply to some expressions of personal duty and attachment, used by Russell, that she hoped every happiness might attend him. Russell then told me that, when he was last at Windsor, a week ago, he remarked that the Queen, talking of the Whigs, used the expression, "We, and our party," confessing at the time that the other party had been more active than ourselves at the recent elections. I remarked that Russell himself was in high spirits on this occasion;

and thought that, perhaps, his recent marriage had something to do with it. 1841.

August 30.—At half-past five o'clock, I went to the House of Commons, at the request of Lord John Russell. The *Times* newspaper was not a little waggish on the appearance of some of us, particularly myself; but the truth was, there was no appearance of dejection in any of us. Russell, before he rose to speak, was a little nervous; and he spoke, purposely, in a lower tone than usual. He was listened to in profound silence, interrupted only by occasional cheers from the opposite benches, some of which came from his former friends, such as Graham and Stanley. The applause was most decided when he alluded to his own conduct in his office and also in the House. The cheering was very loud and most unanimous when he sat down, particularly from our opponents; our friends, perhaps, did not think the occasion justified much outward hilarity.

Lord Stanley rose immediately after Lord John. He praised the tone and tenor of Russell's speech, adding, besides, several encomiums on his high character, and his acknowledged abilities, both as a Minister and as Leader of the House—such as became his sense of duty, and his thorough knowledge of the Constitution. He concluded, after a slight objection to the mode in which our measures were alluded to in the Queen's Speech, by hoping that, if any bitterness had existed between the parties—there could, he said, have

1841. been none against Lord John—that bitterness would cease.

Russell spoke shortly, again, and assured Stanley that the Queen's Speech was not intended by Ministers, in any way, to compromise Her Majesty, but only to indicate the opinion of the Ministers; at which declaration Stanley and Graham and Hardinge gave an assenting cheer.

Thus concluded our last scene as members of the Melbourne Ministry. Palmerston said, "Well, I suppose we may go," and I walked out of the House with him.

On September 4 the late Ministers delivered up their seals, and the new Ministers attended the Council to receive them. They were sworn in, and kissed hands. This was at Claremont. The *Times* of the following Monday contained a ridiculous account of the contrast between the appearance of the former Ministers in their plain clothes, and the new Ministers in their Windsor uniform; with a comment on Peel's appearance in his fine clothes. The *Standard* newspaper was foolish enough to tell how the new Ministers were all asked to dine with the Queen; but some of them, being engaged in London, did not stay to dine with Her Majesty. None were asked, none refused, and none of them stayed. Even the *Court Journal* showed that fact, which would not be worth recording, except as manifesting the great glee and jubilation of the newly-appointed gentlemen and their supporters of the Press.

On September 16, whilst I was staying at Erle Stoke, Manacjee Curzetjee, the Bombay Parsee, come to see me. He was a man of extraordinary intelligence and information. His conversation was far superior to that of ordinary society, chiefly of a philosophic and scientific kind. He spoke and wrote English fluently, and composed poetry as good as that of some imitators of Byron. He had an employment under the Bombay Government, and was a strenuous supporter of British rule in India. He said to me, "Life and property are now secure in India. When were they ever so, before the days of the English?" 1841.

Parliament was prorogued by commission on Thursday, October 7. The Speech of the Commissioners was short, and inoffensive.

On October 16 I received the news that Lord Ellenborough had been appointed Governor-General of India. I thought it a very good appointment.

I now read, I am ashamed to confess to myself, for the first time, several of Ben Jonson's Plays—*Every Man in his Humour*, *Every Man out of his Humour*, *The Four Poetasters*, *The Silent Woman*, *Sejanus*. The plots of all these great dramas are exceedingly intricate; I thought too much so. *The Silent Woman* has more surprises than any comedy I was acquainted with; but the conclusion is wonderfully well managed. I now understand why Jonson has so great a name.

1841. FROM DIARY.

November 10.—I see by the newspapers that the Queen was yesterday morning safely delivered of a son. The Ministers dined at Guildhall and made the most of this auspicious event. The *Times* now takes care to hold up Her Majesty as a model for female sovereigns, with qualities superior to those of Elizabeth and Anne. Prince Albert also comes in for his share of applause from the journalists, who, until lately, could see nothing but perverted policy at Windsor Castle.

November 15.—I have had a letter from Mr. Longmire, our curate, remonstrating with me for not going to church. The truth is, I am wrong in this respect; but the service is performed in so very wretched a manner that I cannot bring myself to undergo the infliction except at long intervals. I can hear but little of my pastor's long sermons, and what I do hear seems to me nothing but an incoherent rhapsody, without thought, arrangement, or merit of any kind; indeed, in the evening, he delivers his nonsense extempore. But, I repeat, I am wrong in not going frequently to church, and I shall endeavour to amend in this particular. I shall not take any notice of the letter, except, perhaps, to say that I am not at all offended by it, and I am not; for it is written from a conscientious conviction that I ought to be so warned.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS." 1841.

On December 8 I went to Devizes, and was present at the county meeting which took place there to congratulate the Queen on the birth of the Prince of Wales, and to consider the causes of the distress said to prevail in the manufacturing portion of the county. Lord Lansdowne made, as usual, a sensible speech; but the rest of the proceedings were marked by folly more egregious than was usual at county meetings, although they had been proclaimed farcical by high authority.

1842.—In the latter end of January the newspapers were full of the preparations for the christening of the Prince of Wales and the reception of his godfather, the King of Prussia. 1842.

Parliament was opened on February 3. I returned, after seven years' absence, to my old place, where, as I then thought, I should in all probability remain for the remainder of my parliamentary life.

I turned, with pleasure, to my old pursuits, and read, on February 6, Gibbon's "Memoirs," a delightful work, which I have read many times, and the day afterwards I read the famous fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of Gibbon's "History," and I do not wonder at the outcry raised against them.

Dining the next day at the Asiatic Club, Mr. Stokes gave me an account of the death of Sir Francis Chantrey. He died suddenly, so sud-

1842. denly that Mr. Stokes did not know what had happened, for he only gave a loud sigh and dropped his head on his shoulder. He was in his sixtieth year. I knew him very intimately. He was, without contradiction, the best English sculptor of his day, and his portraits were equal, if not superior, to any of Canova's works. His bust of my own father was a masterpiece.

February 9 was the important day which was to bring forth the Ministerial amendment of the Corn-laws. I went early to the House of Commons. There was a crowd before the doors, and some members were addressed by the people, begging them to vote against the Corn-laws. Peel rose at five o'clock, and spoke very nearly three hours. I never heard him speak with so little effect. The Ministers looked uneasy, and I heard Sir George Clerk say, "What spirits they are in!" meaning they, the Opposition. The total abolitionists would not hear of the plan. Cobden at once denounced it as a mockery of the distresses of the people.

The next day I had a talk with Lord Melbourne about the bad news just arrived from Afghanistan. Burnes and his brother had both been assassinated, and Sir R. Sale, with a small body of our troops, had taken refuge in Jellalabad. I remarked to Lord Melbourne that such reverses must always attend a small force occupying an extensive territory, and that I was only afraid of the authorities

in India and in England taking alarm and reversing the policy we had adopted. 1842.

Dining with Mr. Speaker on February 19, I sat next to Mr. Byng. The worthy old Member for Middlesex, who, by the way, talked so loud that he was heard over the whole room, told me that the two great enemies of life were, in his opinion, wine and women. He had never suffered from the first, but had no merits in his abstinence, for he did not care for it. As to the other, he had been very fortunate—"Yes! yes! he had." I remembered that, in his last address to the freeholders of Middlesex, he told them that "he had been blessed by Divine Providence with perfect health."

I had a long talk with Lord Palmerston, who was exceedingly dissatisfied with the language held of late by the Mahomet Ali clique at Holland House, and he added that, in all his political life, he had received most discouragement from those who ought to have been his best friends; and at parting he said what he had often written to me, "I wish that a few more of our colleagues had been men like yourself."

On February 26 I met the Duke of Buckingham in the Green Park, and had some conversation with him. I paid him a compliment on his resignation. He said he could not take any other course. He did not, so he said, want office unless he could hold it conscientiously; and as he considered Peel's plan as the first great blow at the

1842. Corn-laws,[1] the unqualified support of which had given him (Peel) his majority at the late elections, he was obliged to separate himself from the Cabinet. He asked me several times whether I did not consider that Peel's plan had sealed the doom of the Corn-laws. I told him I had no doubt of it. "Yes," said the Duke, "quite as much as his giving way on the Catholic claims, and not opposing the second reading of the Reform Bill." The Duke then asked me if I saw any necessity for Peel's Bill. I answered, "Not the least; there was no call for it, and no support for it, except very quiet and lukewarm, and there was a great clamour against it; and when the effects of it began to be felt by the agriculturists there would be great discontent, for I was not one of those who thought prices would not be lowered by it." The Duke then said: "How many years do you give the Corn-laws to last?" I replied, "During the present Parliament." "What! about four years?" said he. "Yes, from four to six."

I gave him my opinion freely of some of his recent colleagues as my reason for thinking that no great firmness was to be expected from them; and I added that the new doctrine, so often in the mouth of Sir Robert Peel, of the manliness of confessing errors and changing your course of

[1] On February 9 Sir R. Peel introduced his scheme for a sliding scale of duties on corn. The Duke of Buckingham resigned his post of Privy Seal, and was succeeded by the Duke of Buccleuch.

policy might be very convenient, but that the truly great statesman was he that adopted opinions and principles in the first instance, by which subsequent events and his own conduct enabled him to stand. Was that the case with Peel? No. With Stanley and Graham? No. The Duke smiled, and repeated his conviction that he had taken the only course open to him, and, saying something to me personally very civil, we parted. Now, if his Grace does not take the Garter, he will recollect all I said to him with satisfaction. 1842.

On February 28 I walked into the City and saw Messrs. Loyd. These masters of millions were in their little back room as hard at work as if they had their bread to gain by it. Old Mr. Loyd (Lewis) told me that Ackerman, of Bristol, had failed for £800,000, and that Miles, of Bristol, would lose £70,000 by the failure of the Ackermans. "True," remarked Samuel Loyd, "but it is not safe to say this."

March 2.—Lord Fitzgerald spoke to me about the Afghan news. I told him to be of good cheer; matters in India would come right at last. He said he was glad to hear me say so, and then asked me how he was to get out two regiments to India. I replied by going to the Prime Minister and asking for them on his own responsibility. He then inquired who was to pay for them. I answered, "Never mind that; get the regiments out. The payment will be settled afterwards."

1842. On March 5 I dined at Lord Palmerston's. My old friend, Lady Keith, Madame Flahault, and her beautiful daughter amongst them.

Lady Palmerston had a reception afterwards. The Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen had been to dine with the Russian company, and were in uniform, looking very gay and good-humoured. I heard Sir Robert Wilson say to the Duke, "You made a good speech, sir, at the dinner"—a compliment which the Duke received with his usual laugh through the nose.

On March 8 the Indian Mail was telegraphed. The news was very distressing. Sir W. Macnaghten had been murdered at Cabul by a son of Dost Mahomed. Much consternation prevailed in departments connected with India. But Macaulay, truly enough, observed to me that, for Macnaghten himself, the catastrophe was perhaps fortunate; had he lived, he would have had to bear all the responsibility of the recent disasters. Now he would be lamented, and excuses would be found for his mistakes.

Dining at the Duke of Somerset's, I met Mr. Babbage and Mr. Fraser Tytler, but had very little conversation with either of them; nor indeed with any one, except the Duke himself, who was very well worth listening to. He told me that Sir John Pringle resigned the Chair of the Royal Society in consequence of a remark of George III. The King was talking to him of Franklin's discovery that the attraction of a pointed

body is greater than that of a level or circular surface; and His Majesty expressed a wish to have it contradicted. "Sir," said Pringle, "I cannot alter the laws of nature." "Then," replied the King, "you are not fit to be President of the Royal Society." This was the way the Duke told me the story; but I thought it almost too good to be true. 1842.

A confirmation of the death of Macnaghten arrived by the next mail, and also several particulars which added to the horror of the murder. It was reported that no less than sixteen English ladies had been seized and imprisoned by the insurgents. Nothing could have been more treacherous and barbarous than the murder of Macnaghten, who seemed to have fallen nobly in the discharge of his duty. Of course the Conservative press imputed the catastrophe to the authors of the Afghan war. Lord Duncannon told me that he had heard it stated positively as a fact that the Court of Directors had remonstrated with me against the expedition beyond the Indus. It was not so. The Court acquiesced, with only one exception, in the whole transaction; and I never heard even of the one dissent until long afterwards, on the arrival of the bad news. The Secret Committee—that is to say, the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, and the senior Member of the Court—fully approved of the despatch which I wrote to Lord Auckland, directing that the expedition should be undertaken; no dissenting

1842. vote, that I heard of, was given. I did, indeed, hear afterwards that Mr. Tucker put a dissent on the Court records; but it was not forwarded to me; and when a vote of thanks to Lord Auckland passed the Court there was not a dissentient voice, nor was there any disapproval of his policy uttered by any one.

The same evening I attended the House of Commons and heard the debate on Peel's Corn Importation Bill, which arose upon an amendment moved in a maiden speech by Lord Ebrington. Gladstone was fluent, but unfair, and insolent; he was, in those days, much in the habit of using hard words, and dealing in personal sarcasms. Sir R. Peel attempted to fix a charge of inconsistency and change of opinion on Russell, and others of his party. This came with a very ill grace from a man who had never, or hardly ever, adopted an opinion which he had not subsequently abandoned.

The next day I dined at Lansdowne House. Macaulay, Tom Moore, Barry the architect, Baron and Baroness Rothschild, Gibson Craig and his wife, Lord and Lady Marcus Hill, composed the party. I was fortunately placed between Mr. Barry and Baroness Rothschild, a most agreeable woman. Macaulay talked in his usual style and tone; very little was said by any one else. He gave us some sayings of Dr. Parr, and, amongst them, an incorrect version of his rebuke of Mackintosh. I put him right, which I was very seldom able to

do. Barry stared at him, which he well might. 1842
Lord Lansdowne was most agreeable; my lady, with her grey hair, looked very handsome.

I went to the House of Commons on March 11. It was full of members, and the galleries and approaches were crowded with strangers who came to hear Sir Robert Peel's financial statement. Peel began his Budget speech at twenty minutes past five, and spoke for three hours and thirty-five minutes. The performance was admirable; and he had been speaking more than an hour before he told us that the Government had resolved upon proposing an income-tax, or, as he called it, a tax analogous to a tax upon property—an announcement that was better received on our side of the House than by the Ministerial benches. Having told us that England was to pay 7d. in the pound, or £2 18*s*. 4*d*. per cent. on all property rating incomes above £150 a year, he then told us that Ireland was to be taxed, so as to raise a revenue of about £410,000 a year, and to this he added an export duty on coal, estimated at £200,000 per per annum. He estimated the new revenue at about £4,380,000. He next explained the reductions and beneficial changes which he proposed to make in the tariff, and told us, with an air of satisfaction, glancing at a paper which was handed to him by Gladstone, that the whole scheme, with the accompanying tables, would be in the hands of the public on the following Monday, at which there was a great cheer from the Ministerial benches.

1842. He calculated that, after making good the present deficiency, and after all the loss of duty by his reductions, his new taxes would leave him a surplus of more than half a million; and he concluded his speech with a peroration which lasted, as Russell remarked to me, a quarter of an hour. He was tremendously cheered by his own party when he sat down, and he deserved to be so.

The next day there was a meeting of the party at Lord Melbourne's. Russell stated his views in regard to Peel's plan, and concluded by saying that, on the whole, he was for accepting it. Lord Melbourne took the same view, adding that, if we succeeded in turning out the Government, we should have no adequate plan to substitute for it. Palmerston praised the scheme much, and said it would lower England in the eyes of foreigners much if it was not generally supported. Baring took quite a different view; he objected to the income-tax, and said he was sure the nation would not endure it for two years. Lord Campbell was of the same opinion, and Lord Cottenham told me privately that he agreed with the opponents of the measure. I asked whether the constituencies ought not to count for something in deciding this question, and this view met with general approval; so much so that it was resolved not to come to any positive decision until we could have a meeting of the party previously to the next discussion on the following Tuesday.

On March 16 Lord Francis Egerton's Bill, enabling widowers to marry the sisters of their deceased wives, was thrown out by a majority of 123 to 100. If I had been in the House, I should have voted in the majority. 1842.

The next evening I went early to the House of Lords, and heard Lord Brougham speak for an hour about the income-tax, not against it. I never heard him speak so ill. Lord Ripon followed him in a short speech, and the resolution proposed by Brougham was negatived. Brougham spoke against our plan of last year, and concluded by saying that an income or property-tax was inevitable.

After this I joined my children at Covent Garden Theatre, and saw *Comus* and the *Marriage of Figaro*. The part of Susanna was performed by Miss Adelaide Kemble, an exceedingly plain person, but an admirable actress and singer, I thought. *Comus* was a gorgeous spectacle, and pleased me as much as it did my children.

On March 18 I went to the House of Commons, and heard the end of Baring's speech against the income-tax. He concluded by saying that he should move resolutions on the report. The House went into Committee, and Peel then got up. He began in an intemperate tone and manner, telling us he was neither disconcerted nor disappointed by our opposition, nor at our refusing to assist in remedying mischiefs caused by our own misgovernment—in India, in China, and Syria. He said

1842. that we would have objected to whatever he proposed, but he would do his duty; and, if the House would not support him, he would no longer administer the affairs of the country. He then animadverted strongly on Baring's remarks on his tariff, and, alluding to something said by Baring on colonial rivers, called him the Right Honourable Fisherman, in allusion to a foolish joke of his own last year, on which Baring had commented. After this impertinence he became a little more calm, and continued in a different tone to the end of his speech. He was much cheered by his own side.

Labouchere spoke next. He rebuked Peel calmly for his unjust imputations in regard to our motives, and said he would not refuse to him the justice which he had denied to us; but would say that he had proposed his measure from a conscientious conviction that it was the best that he could bring forward. He reminded Peel, at the same time, that he was the last man who ought to make such charges against a party that had so often stood by him against his own side. Peel looked red and white, and more foolish than I had ever seen him before. He had the good sense to appear ashamed. . . . The debate was again adjourned.

The next day, March 19, I dined at Lord Denman's. Lord Jeffery and Sydney Smith were there; the latter in high fooling. He gave us an explanation of the phrase "cock-a-whoop"—

when a man is joyous and liberal of his liquor, he pulls out the cock, and puts it on the hoop of the barrel. Jeffery denied this, and said no one ever did this; on which Sydney Smith observed, "Not in Scotland, where the barrels have no hoops." I proposed, "When a cock crows." Sydney Smith remarked that "a cock never whoops," and he went on bantering. Jeffery said that everything was too long, except life and some sermons. Sydney Smith added: "That is an old saying," but he did not tell the author of it. 1842.

Lord Denman mentioned that Lord Brougham gave Lord Ashburton a dinner before he started for America, and startled him by saying that all three—that is, Brougham, and Denman, and Lord Jeffery—concurred in the opinion that the Americans were right in their views on the Macleod affair.

On March 24 I passed the morning at the British Museum, a sight to make an Englishman truly proud. As I was walking away I met Sydney Smith. Amongst other things I told him that a friend of his, a lady, had explained to me his puzzle, "Cock-a-hoop," as nothing more nor less than good French *coq à huppe*—a full-feathered cock.

Mr. Sydney Smith promised to send me a "Memoir of Sheridan," by Professor Smyth. He did send it to me the same evening; it was printed, not published, in a little volume of fifty or sixty

1842. pages. Mr. Smyth was private tutor to Tom Sheridan, and came into the family not long after the death of the first Mrs. Sheridan. Some of the anecdotes were, to me, quite new, putting Sheridan's character in a more amiable light than that in which it is usually viewed. But he is still represented with more frailties and vices than any other distinguished man of his time, and I cannot help agreeing with Lord Jeffery, who said to me, at Lord Denman's, that such an exposure by a domestic friend was unpardonable; and to this I add that the additional portraits of the unhappy women who were Sheridan's wives, although they add to the value of the Memoir, do not add to the credit of the author. There is, however, it must be owned, a manifest adherence to facts; otherwise he could not have represented himself as being nearly as despicable in character as those of whom he speaks. Some of the stories appeared to me incredible; such, for instance, as Sheridan's stuffing the window-sashes with bank-notes to prevent their making a noise; and, on his coming too late to Richardson's funeral, persuading the clergyman to read the service a second time. According to this Memoir, Sheridan was the nervous, irritable, unreasonable original of his own Falkland, and teased his beautiful wife out of her respect and affection for him as much as by his infidelities. Yet the Professor would give us to understand this; although the charming verses, extracted from a poem in the poor creature's

handwriting, addressed to ——, hardly bear him out in that supposition. Here they are: 1842.

"Ah, why, while anguish rends her heart,
Avoid'st thou thus, with curious art,
To meet thy Laura's eye?
No frown resentful, sure, is there;
A meek and a forgiving tear
Would rather claim thy sigh!

"When first the cruel truth I found,
Nor thou thy love of change disown'd,
Fierce madness seized my brain;
But happier now, a milder grief—
A softer thought—can bring relief:
I weep and can complain."

I have never met with these verses except in the above Memoir; but I presume they have been often copied and, perhaps, printed before. Indeed, the Professor's Memoir was handed about so much that they may be said to have been published before this extract was copied by me.

Dining with Lady Holland on March 27, she asked me if I knew the author of the expression, "He dyed the royal ermine in blood"? I told her I had never heard of it, but it sounded like a saying of Lord Chatham's. She asked everybody round the table, and, amongst them, Mr. Allen, who said he had never heard of it. Lady Holland recurred to the subject more than once, and M. Allen made various conjectures. At last Lady Holland said she had seen it quoted in some manuscript Memoirs of Horace Walpole, as being Lord Chatham's. This made Mr. Allen very angry,

1842. and he reproached her for pretending not to know what she did know merely for the sake of trying the memory of her guests. He was right, and Lady Holland felt he was right, for she made her page sit down with us in the tea-room and read aloud the passage in the manuscript Memoirs where the phrase occurs. It was in allusion to the tumult at Boston, in the beginning of the American War. We then talked of Professor Smyth's "Memoir of Sheridan," which Lady Holland characterised as a vulgar, stupid imitation of Horace Walpole's private histories; but she would not allow that there was any obliquity in the work. She said, "No; the man's a fool, not a rogue."

April 3.—I heard a sermon from a worthy man, Mr. Cattermole, who, amongst other practices, denounced the habit of looking into your hat and seeming to pray on entering the pew at church.

I dined at the Dilettanti, and sat next to our secretary and master, Mr. W. Hamilton. Sir M. A. Shee was on the other side of me. It was the first time that I was made aware that the President of the Royal Academy was a Roman Catholic. He told me this himself, and we had some little talk on the subject. We had little general talk, although some very clever men were present. Terrick Hamilton was in the chair. This day William Hamilton told me that the Alban vases, of which the first English notice was given in my

illustrations of the 4th Canto of "Childe Harold," were now generally recognised to be what I said they were—Gothic. Sir Francis Palgrave gave me the hint. 1842.

It is not once a year that I hear any allusion made to anything I ever wrote, although I hear many inferior compositions talked about a good deal. I treat myself with this praise; but of course, there are mistakes in them, which I now see, and which, if I live, I will correct.

On April 4 I went to the House of Commons, and there found that the Resolution, about which so much discussion had taken place—viz. the famous sevenpenny income-tax—had passed without either Ay or No having been uttered on either side. A debate took place, half a dozen members positively assuring the House that they had mistaken the question put, and as many members declaring that it was most distinctly put. My note on this was a repetition of the old question, "What is history worth?"

April 5.—I read all the distressing details of the slaughter of our troops in their retreat from Cabul, and I received a letter from Lord Auckland, in a most desponding tone, imputing the mischief to the unaccountable delusion of all the chief functionaries at Cabul, and to the panic which had lately prevailed amongst them. He stated that he considered the disasters, so far as our position in Afghanistan was concerned, to be irretrievable; and all that we could do was to

1842. stand by the wrecks of our misfortune. Every allowance was to be made for Lord Auckland. The tone that he had held in his public address to his Council in Calcutta was worthy of the Governor-General of India; and my hope was that he had not written to Lord Fitzgerald in the same tone that he had written to me. He desired me to show his letter to me to Lord Minto and Lord Lansdowne. I did not know whether they were in London, so I showed the letter to Lord Palmerston; he was, as usual, most practical and sensible. He said he wished the whole subject might be discussed in Parliament, as he thought the expression of our opinion might be of use to the present Government, and assist them in making the requisite efforts for recovering our position in India.

On April 9 I had a long talk with Lord Tweeddale. I found he had accepted the Government of Madras, and was, besides, to be Commander-in-Chief in that Presidency, with the rank of Lieutenant-General. He told me that the Duke of Wellington, talking with him of the recent disasters in Afghanistan, attributed them, as every one else did, in great part, to the neglect and misconduct of General Elphinstone. Tweeddale reminded the Duke of a letter he had written to Colonel Wallace, in 1804, as to the best way of providing against such mischiefs as that which had befallen our Afghan army. The Duke was much pleased, and tapped him two or three times

on the shoulder, exclaiming, "Yes, that's the way; that's it." 1842.

On April 10 I dined at Lady Holland's, with a party comprising Lord Melbourne, Lord and Lady Clanricarde, Samuel Rogers, Lord Duncannon, and Sir E. L. Bulwer. We had a little controversy about the date when watches were first in use. Bulwer said that King Robert Bruce had a watch. Lord Melbourne told us that, having had a previous controversy with Lady Holland on the subject, he had looked into the "Encyclopædia," and found that watches were not in use until the middle of the seventeenth century.

I went to the Queen's Ball on April 15. I thought it not so well managed as in our time. But the fact was, it was more miscellaneous, and guests of all parties were invited. I did not get away until past two o'clock in the morning.

The next day I dined at my friend Van De Weyer's. The party consisted of Lady Holland, Mr. Allen, Sydney Smith and his wife, Mr. Bates (father of Madame Van De Weyer, and a member of the famous firm Baring Brothers), Samuel Rogers and his sister, Lord and Lady John Russell, and Humphrey Mildmay. My host was in circumstances rather different from those in which I first saw him in 1830, the bearer of a letter from Joseph Hume to me, and an unacknowledged Commissioner of the revolutionary Government at Brussels. His marriage with

1842. Miss Bates completed the well-deserved good fortune of this excellent man, whose fellow-countrymen have more than once wished him to preside over the Belgian Cabinet, and who has always been a favourite with our own Queen.

April 19.—I went to an assembly at M. de Saint-Aulaire's. It was much crowded, and I was introduced to the Count by Countess Keith. I thought him a singularly plain man, with a head too big for his body, but of a very pleasing address and manners.

April 30.—I dined at the Royal Academy. I sat with the Attorney and Solicitor-General and Lord Eldon. Pollock was overflowing with kindness, and would drink wine twice with me in remembrance, as he said, of old college days. He told me that Lord Eldon was a great lawyer, but an impostor in other respects, and Peel had told him that, as a member of the Cabinet, he (Eldon) was of no use. The Duke of Wellington returned thanks for the Army and Navy and his own health. He did this in a style very painful for his admirers, especially coming immediately after the admirable performances of M. de Saint-Aulaire. Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst made an excellent speech in proposing the health of the members of the Royal Academy. I had some talk with him, before dinner, on the merits of Maclise's large picture of Hamlet in the play-scene.

On Monday, May 2, I met the procession

escorting what was called the Petition for the People's Charter to the House of Commons. It was said to be signed by 3,300,000 petitioners. The procession was very long, and some said was attended by 100,000 people. I did not believe there were half that number. There were a few carriages and tilted carts, and the petition itself was on a raised platform with wheels; a few horsemen, with wands and ribbons, accompanied it. There was one wagon full of women, and about fifty women walked in the procession. There were a good many banners with inscriptions, some rather near the wind: such as a demand for blood to avenge the blood shed at Manchester. Caps of liberty and tricolour flags were occasionally seen. There were two or three bands of music and a Scotch bagpipe. But everything was conducted in the most puerile manner, and so wretched and feeble was the whole demonstration that it was impossible not to pity the foolish fellows who had thus thrown away a day's wages. There was no military force in the street, nor more police than usual. Tom Duncombe laid the petition on the floor of the House, when it was taken up and sent to the repository of all petitions. 1842.

FROM DIARY.

May 19.—I dined at Lord Zetland's—a large party, of whom I knew all but two.

After dinner in the drawing-room, S. Rogers,

1842. pointing out one of the two, a lady, said, "Why don't you go and speak to your child?" I asked what he meant, and he told me the lady was Byron's daughter, Lady Lovelace. The last time I saw her was three or four years ago at Lansdowne House, and I had quite forgotten her.

I went up to her and introduced myself, and had a very singular conversation with her, during which she told me more than once that she "did not like me." However, she ended by saying that she should be glad to see me any day between one and two in the afternoon.

She asked me if I thought her like her father. I told her I did think the lower part of her face like. She said she lived very little in the world, and certainly her manners and her talk are not those of a woman of the world. Not that they are free from affectation, nor simple—quite the contrary. However, I saw her at a disadvantage. I ventured to tell her what I know to be true—that I was the best friend her father ever had.

May 21.—Dined at Lord Yarborough's: a large party, with three or four beautiful women—Lady Seymour, the Duchess of Roxburgh, Lady Worsley. The first by far the most beautiful. Palmerston and Lady Palmerston were of the party, and the Speaker with Mrs. Lefevre.

May 24.—Went to a fancy-dress ball at Stafford House: on the whole the most magnificent fête I ever saw in my life. I had no notion of the

splendour and magnificence of this princely mansion. Our palace is nothing to it. 1842.

May 26.—I called on Lady Lovelace, and sat some time with her. I think she improves on acquaintance. She was anxious to know whether I thought her like her father. She talked sensibly about the education of her children. After a short time I rose to go away, but she begged me to stay longer, and I sat nearly an hour with her. . . . I had a melancholy pleasure in meeting with the daughter of the friend of my youth.

May 29.—Dined at Mrs. Heathing's. Mrs. Heathing, whom I saw for the first time in my life, entertained me after dinner with a confidential account of the wife of her brother, Robert Bland, the poet. My brother Edward had been his pupil at Kenilworth. This was the excuse for her being so communicative; but I was struck with the strong desire that impels some people to betray even their own family secrets rather than not tell any secrets.

May 30.—Sir Edward Kerrison told me a shot had been fired at the Queen, at least a pistol had been levelled at her. . . . Went to a ball at Lady Wilton's. Every one was talking about the attempt on the Queen's life; but the dance began and went on, nevertheless.

June 7.—Lord Ashley brought in his Bill for regulating labour in mines, and got deservedly much merit for his exertions.

1842. *June* 15.—Joined my friend Lady Methuen and a party at the French play. Saw the famous Bouffe in the Père Turlatatu, an old man of a hundred; and the Gamin de Paris, a boy of eighteen. His personification of the two ages was most surprising, and his acting very natural.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

On June 28 I had some friends to dine with me—Lady Holland, Lord and Lady John Russell, Lord Melbourne, etc. Lady Holland was in good humour, and did nothing extravagant, except removing a basin of roses, and telling me that I was sitting in a wrong place. I was wrong about the roses; but I did not then know that Lady Holland, like the Roman ladies, could not bear the scent of that flower.

July 15.—I dined with the Duke of Leinster. The party consisted of the Duke and Duchess of Bedford, Lord and Lady Clanricarde, Lady Palmerston, Lady Holland, and Mr. Allen.

Lady Clanricarde spoke to me a good deal about Lord Melbourne's late speeches on the Corn-laws, and on his difference of opinion with Russell and others of his late colleagues on that subject. She predicted that the party would be broken up by those differences, and attacked Melbourne's conduct roundly, attributing it to a wish to please the Queen. I asked her why she did not expostulate with Lord Melbourne himself. She replied that would be of no use; he would

say one thing, and do another. He was a very insincere man. I told her I did not think so; I had seen a great deal of him, and had never detected that defect in him. She continued to speak in bitter terms of him, and, considering that I was not at that time on intimate terms with her, I was surprised at the vehemence of her language. I thought her very handsome, at any rate. 1842.

This evening arrived the news of the Duke of Orleans being killed by jumping out of a carriage, driving a runaway horse. The catastrophe did not create much sensation in England. It was hardly alluded to where I dined the same evening, although the party consisted of persons well acquainted with French politics: Lord Lansdowne, Mr. and Mrs. Lambton, Mr. and Mrs. Byng, Colonel Ferguson, Lady Elizabeth Feilding and her daughter.

On Tuesday, July 26, I left London for the season, and, arriving at Erle Stoke, found my children on the steps of the house ready to receive me.

I heard of the arrival of Lord Auckland in London, and had received a note from him, expressing his gratitude for my defence of him. He told me he wished much to see me; accordingly, I rode over to Chippenham, on August 25, and, going to London, called at Upper Grove House, Kensington. I found him in good health and good spirits. He was much affected at our first interview, and told me, what I was very glad to

1842. hear, that he had seen the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, and that both of them had behaved very kindly to him.

I heard, afterwards, from Lord Auckland, that the Afghan disasters were caused by want of foresight on the part of our military friends at headquarters, and that, just before the disaster, he had received a letter from the General commanding there, requesting that two of the regiments with him might be withdrawn.

Lord Auckland sent for his sisters to shake hands with me. They were very little, if at all, altered by their Indian residence, and as agreeable as ever. I dined with him and the Miss Edens the same day, and our little party was rendered more pleasant by the company of Mr. Charles Greville. A Mahomedan Indian servant waited upon us.

Having made up my mind to pass the winter abroad, I left Erle Stoke on October 11, and set out with my little family for the Continent.

FROM DIARY.

December 8.—I do not pretend to make any detailed record of this my last Italian tour. The further I advance the more I am convinced how futile any such effort would be!

THE FOLLOWING EXTRACTS ARE FROM *DIARIES* AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM, THE PRIVATELY PRINTED "RECOLLECTIONS" ENDING IN OCTOBER 1842

CHAPTER X

FLORENCE. *December* 12.—My friend, C. Buonarrotti, told me he had read a great many letters of Michael Angelo, which gave convincing proof that he was as good a man as he was a great man; and, added my friend, that was the case with most of our distinguished poets, painters, and sculptors. 1842.

March 27.—Saw H. L. Bulwer, and had a long talk with him on French politics. He said what I believe is true—that the French are fond of power, and think no man a great statesman that is not possessed of it, at least that does not attain it and keep it for some time. 1843.

Thus they admired Thiers much, but now they think little of him, whereas Guizot is held in high estimation. Indeed, he has risen much since the last two years. Bulwer imputed his importance to his visit to England. Bulwer said that Guizot's chief complaint against Palmerston was not the Treaty of July 1815, but that he had not upheld the new Ministry in France at their accession to office in October 1840, and that Palmerston had made the Tiverton speech.

I do not see how Palmerston could have

1843. upheld Guizot in Paris against Thiers more than he did, but I admit that the Tiverton speech was untimely. After all, Bulwer considered Guizot to be essentially for the English Alliance against all others.

April 2.—Arrived in Berkeley Square after an absence of twenty-four weeks and two days.

April 11.—Letter from Palmerston. He says the party can do nothing, except make motions for their amusement, until they gain some *elections* and lose some of their associates. I believe this, and therefore believe that the party will do nothing for a long while to come.

Parliament adjourned this day for Easter holidays.

April 30.—I called on Lady Holland. She was in a sad condition, poor woman, and complained of solitude; she, who never passes a minute without a ring at her bell, or a note, or a message, or a friend!

May 6.—I see our papers, and the *Times* too, are making an outcry against the annexation of Scinde. I wrote a long letter to Palmerston begging him not to let our friends in Parliament fall into that folly.

May 16.—Heard from Palmerston, saying he agrees with me as to Scinde.

May 18.—The more I see of the conduct of Auckland and his Council, and his Commander-in-Chief, Sir Jasper Nicolls, immediately after

the disasters in Afghanistan, the more convinced I am that the authorities in India were not equal to the occasion, and that Ellenborough found the question prejudged, in regard to the occupation of Afghanistan, when he arrived at Calcutta. The conduct of Nicolls shows him to be deficient in every quality that was peculiarly called for by the emergency. 1843.

His pusillanimity contrasts wretchedly with the energy of Mr. Clerk, our agent at Lahore, to say nothing of the noble fortitude of Sale and the vigour of Pollock and of Nott.

Ellenborough had therefore to contend with great disadvantages, but, after making all due allowance for these circumstances, he still appears to me to have acted with most lamentable want of courage and sagacity.

His attempt to make the Generals act on their own responsibility without giving precise orders or opinions of his own is unworthy of his position and character.

There is no doubt whatever that the double advance to Cabul from Candahar and from Jelalabad, and the victories that accompanied that triumphant enterprise, were accomplished under every possible discouragement from the supreme Government, and against positive previous orders, and when at last a reluctant consent was given to General Nott to retire by way of Guznee and Cabul, the alternative was put before him of a retreat to Quetta, and even this choice was not given

1843 him until July 4, four months after Ellenborough's arrival in India.

This is sufficient to show the real intentions of the Governor-General and his Commander-in-Chief; but these intentions were founded on the opinion that the speediest retreat from Afghanistan was the only safe policy, and if I combat that opinion I shall have to encounter the authority of Auckland and of his Council besides that of the Duke of Wellington and my friend Russell, who declared himself a convert to that conviction. Indeed, I should stand almost alone in the House of Commons were I to advocate the maintaining our positions in Afghanistan. Perhaps Palmerston would back me, but I am sure no one else would.

I had an answer from Auckland telling me what I knew before, that he differs from me as to the evacuation of Afghanistan, and that he does not see the necessity for the annexation of Scinde. He also thinks Ellenborough an unsafe Governor-General.

May 28.—Dan O'Connell and two others have been dismissed from the magistracy for attending Repeal meetings. A strong measure: whether a wise one remains to be seen.

June 30.—Called on Lord John Russell, and had a most cordial reception from my old leader, who in my absence has had a son and heir, and looks very well and happy.

He did not seem to think much of the difficulty

of the Government, and, as to the Queen's feelings, said she knew the constitution of the country too well to try to act upon them; in fact, they did not help us. 1843.

Lady John Russell came into the room. His quiet attentions to her were very pleasing. He is an excellent man, and a first-rate leader of a party; but not perfect.

July 3.—I called on Palmerston and had a very long talk with him—quite confidential. I see he has not yet got over the treatment he received from Ellice and his clique in the late Cabinet.

He condemned, with me, Russell's avowal in the House of Commons that the retreat from Afghanistan was inevitable. He said that Russell's opinions were often Ellice's, filtered through the Duke of Bedford and Lord Spencer and Lord Fitzwilliam. Ellice writes to these people, they write to Russell, but do not say who has written to them. Russell thinks the advice their own and follows it.

"Now," said Palmerston, "I would rather follow my own judgment. Spencer may know more about a cow than I do, but I do not think he is so good a judge of foreign politics as I am—nor as you are," he civilly added.

He had exactly the same opinion of Auckland's lamentable panic at the close of his Government as I have. He agreed with me that taking and keeping Scinde was good, and that we had better not stir much in the matter.

1843. On general politics he had very sound views, I thought. He confessed his fears about Ireland. He thought the country not at all prepared for a change of administration.

July 25.—I had a letter from the Duke of Bedford telling me that he had heard from his brother John bad accounts of the state of Ireland. A meeting had been held at the Royal Club, at which the Irish members stated that feeling in Ireland against England was as bad as possible, and beyond the control of O'Connell.

July 28.—Called on Lord Melbourne, and was glad to see him looking so much better than I expected to find him. One side of his face, the left, seemed altered, but I did not find his speech affected.

Duncannon came in, and we had some talk. He mentioned that Bushe, late Chief Justice, had died of a broken heart. He would have resigned to Lord Grey, or to Lord Melbourne, but Saurin frightened him by saying that O'Connell would be his successor.

When Peel came in Bushe tendered his resignation, which Peel took very coolly, and wrote to tell him that the Queen had been very graciously pleased to accept it. Bushe, who thought of a peerage, was so mortified that he took to his house and never recovered the disappointment.

Duncannon told us that he once heard Creevey ask Bushe what he thought of O'Connell. Bushe said he could not give an answer, as Mr. O'Connell

was in his Court. Creevey still pushed him, but he gave the same answer. After an interval Creevey said, "Now, my Lord Chief Justice, I wish to ask you another question: if you had an action in your Court, and were a private man, whom should you employ for counsel?" "Mr. Creevey," said Bushe, "that question I can answer—doubtless Mr. O'Connell." 1843.

August 24.—Parliament prorogued by the Queen in person. H.M.'s Speech chiefly devoted to reading the Repealers of Ireland a lecture, the remainder of it alluding to Scotch Church and disturbance in Wales.

Such a Speech at the end of the session has never been put into the Sovereign's mouth in my time. The Speaker was, in his speech, obliged to confess that the session had not been productive of great enactments, but that many important measures had been under consideration.

The Speech was evidently resolved upon merely to give the Queen an opportunity of showing that Peel had not taken her name in vain in quoting her opinions in the House of Commons. Yet, after all, the real speech is the Minister's speech.

September 1.—Lord J. Russell, writing to me, tells me to get all my strength, as the next will be a warm session.

October 18.—Called on Lady Holland. The poor lady talked and looked wretchedly, and begged me to be kind to her on my return to

1843. London. But when I saw her in the evening with her little court—Lord Lansdowne, Glenelg, Foley, Fortescue, Major Roundell, Macdonald, H. Bulwer, E. Ellice, etc., she was quite a different person.

November 13.—Whilst staying with my solicitor, Mr. Palmer, at Bath, I took the opportunity of visiting the Docks, and was shown over the *Great Britain*. The vast proportions of this vessel are perhaps less striking than their extreme delicacy. Looking at her from stem to stern, she has all the neatness and accuracy of a beautiful model, and the same may be said of her internal fittings. Captain Claxton, talking of the length of the steamer (320 feet), laughed at the fears entertained on that account, and said she was not long enough.

CHAPTER XI

January 4.—Went over to Bowood, dined and slept there. A large party. Lord Auckland, Clarendon, Duncannon, Shelburne and his bride, Sydney Smith and his brother, Miss Fox, Tom Moore, Austin the barrister, and others. 1844.

Sydney Smith was in high force, and not quite so boisterous as usual, but he told one or two stories not exactly suited to his cloth. Amongst others, he said that Colburn, the publisher, had asked him to write a novel, and that he replied, if he did so the characters must be of his own profession: the lover, an Archdeacon; the victim, a Bishop's wife, etc.

I talked to Lord Clarendon of the affairs of Spain. He called them a mess, but he did not seem inclined to speak about them. He spoke in a very disparaging way of Borrow, the author of "The Bible in Spain," and called him an adventurer, adding that he cared no more for the Bible than any other book.

Clarendon is a very agreeable man, but has an air which I did not quite like—not open enough for a man of his station and capacity.

Tom Moore sang a good many of his songs

1844. after dinner in the drawing-room. His voice is a little broken, but his manner is as usual. The handsome Madame Rothschild seemed much touched with his performance.

January 24.—Sir Francis Burdett died on Tuesday. The death of no man out of my own family could have affected me so much. I have known him for more than thirty years, and he never looked upon me but with kindness.

The *Times* and *Chronicle* contain a long memoir of my friend, the latter most unjust; the former, though more impartial, did not appreciate properly his talents as a parliamentary orator, nor his former importance.

January 26.—Went to Woburn Abbey—found a large party. We sat down nearly thirty to dinner, pretty much in the Windsor Palace style; but, of the two, more formal.

January 27.—This morning I had some conversation with my old acquaintance, Sir Robert Adair, who was of the party. He said he believed Francis to be "Junius," and gave as a reason for his keeping the secret that, when Francis came back from India, he found that Burke and the great Whigs amongst whom he lived, did not think highly of the style of "Junius," and that Burke, when asked by some one whether he was the author of "Junius," said, "Do you mean to insult me? Ask Mrs. Macaulay."

Adair met Francis at Woburn, amongst all the great men of the party. There, of course, he

would not confess that he was the author of the infamous attack on the late Duke (John). It may be, however, remarked that Burke in Parliament praised "Junius." 1844.

Adair said that Burke, with all his genius, was unfit for a Cabinet. He was too impetuous. At the trial of Hastings, on hearing some exclamation or remark made by Hastings, he called out, "Put him in irons." I suppose this is a well-known fact, but I never heard it before.

I had some conversation with Mr. Samuel Rogers, who told me a joke of Sir R. Peel's. Some one speaking of a man who was spending a good deal of money, said, "If his father could but look up!" Peel remarked, "You do not venture to say 'look down.'"

I had a good deal of talk with the Duke of Bedford. He told me that at Belvoir he had some conversation with Sir Robert Peel about his intentions as to game, and could never get a direct answer from him, whether he intended to preserve or not. He parried all the Duke's questions as dexterously as if they had been put in the House of Commons.

The Duchess told me that her son writes to her or the Duke almost every day, but she wished he came to Woburn a little oftener. The Marquis seems, indeed, to care little about his magnificent prospects; but he is amiable and does not want for abilities.

Sir R. Adair told me that he had seen an inter-

1844. leaved Bible in which Lord Tavistock had written remarks endeavouring to reconcile some apparent contradictions of the Scripture. A strange occupation for a young man!

I walked in the park with Lord John Russell. He spoke in the strongest terms of reprobation against the Government doings in Ireland; and when I said that I feared the people of England would not sympathise with him in that respect, said he was sorry for it, but that would not reconcile him to injustice or silence him; quite the contrary, he would do his duty with more earnestness. If the people were wrong they ought to be put right.

Speaking of the rumoured debts of Queen Victoria, he said that on leaving office in 1841 he gave the parting advice to H.M. not to run into debt, the people would complain. "And yet," said the Queen, "the people like to have things done handsomely." H.M. received this advice kindly.

Lord Lyndhurst was justified in his praise: Russell is a noble-minded man.

Mr. Martin, the librarian at Woburn, showed me the speech of Mr. Fox on the death of the Duke of Bedford in the handwriting of Mr. Fox, a good deal corrected and transposed in parts, as he prepared it for publication. It is the only speech that Mr. Fox ever corrected for the press, and, Brougham told Mr. Martin, is, for that reason, the worst he ever made. However, I

looked at the manuscript with reverence, not for the subject, but for the author. Sir Robert Adair told me he saw Mr. Fox more than once at work upon his speech, *i.e.* correcting it for the press, and he seemed to labour at it with great pain. 1844.

January 29.—Went to London. Lord and Lady Carrington in the train coach with us.

Lord Carrington told me he met Peel at Drummond Castle in 1842, and thought him the most awkward man he ever saw—never quiet nor at ease. He asked many people to drink wine with him when the Queen was at the table, and could not keep his hands off the dishes at dessert until he had pulled down a pyramid of giant gooseberries that thundered over the table like billiard-balls.

January 31.—I dined at Lord John Russell's. Palmerston, Howick, F. Baring, Labouchere, Macaulay, Charles Buller, B. Hawes, Vernon Smith, Marcus Hill, H. Tufnell, Lord Seymour, and others to about sixteen there.

The dinner, for all political purposes, might as well not have been given. There was, however, a good deal of laughing. Macaulay was very boisterous in his mirth, and Russell was more merry than usual.

Buller, who sat next to me, was very reserved, and appeared to have grown into a greater man than I left him in 1842. Palmerston whispered to me afterwards that Buller and Ben Hawes

1844. entertained a project of making Howick leader of the party, or a leader of a party.

February 1.—A fine day, as the newspapers remarked, *as usual*, for H.M. to open the Parliament. The Speech was rather longer than usual, but written, as Peel told, so as to *invite no* opposition.

February 3.—Dined with Lady Holland, who has got into Palmerston's old house in Stanhope Street. I met Lord and Lady Palmerston, Lord Melbourne, and others.

Lord Melbourne looked a great deal better than when I saw him last. He was in good spirits and very lively. He said he had no doubt the Irish thought the worst of Mr. Fitzgibbon for not fighting the Attorney-General. Norbury had either fought or sent a challenge when a Judge.

Lord Melbourne mentioned what I did not know, that neither Greeks nor Romans had any distilled liquors.

February 6.—Roebuck gave notice that he should move three resolutions as an amendment on Lord Ashley's motion on Thursday for the liberation of the Ameers of Scinde.

The first resolution declared Lord Auckland's proceedings in regard to the Ameer to be unjust and impolitic. The second that Lord Ellenborough's proceedings were the inevitable consequence of his predecessor; the third that the restoration of the Ameers would be disadvan-

tageous to the Indians and to British interests, and *therefore impossible.* 1844.

February 7.—Working hard on Scinde. Lord Palmerston agreed as to the unfairness of the sudden attack, but thought it advantageous, as it was a foreground of complaint, and less would be expected from the defence.

February 8.—Ashley and Roebuck made very long speeches, and took up nearly five hours. They made a furious attack on Lord Auckland and myself as accountable for all the blood spilt. . . .

I spoke about an hour and a half. I believe I made a very effective speech so far as putting down Roebuck was concerned. Indeed, both Palmerston and Russell said, "You have smashed him," and there was great cheering on all sides whilst I was speaking; but my Radical friends did not like my not condemning Ellenborough. I was obliged to speak rather more personally in respect to Roebuck than I am in the habit of doing; but he is a very bitter debater, and has obtain a sort of licence for his language, even from Peel and some of our people, who have almost crouched before him.

Peel, Stanley, and Graham cheered him when he attacked Auckland; but they cheered me too when I made my hits at Roebuck. They are shabby fellows, all three—Peel and Graham deliberately and from narrow dispositions; Stanley rather acts than feels shabbily.

1844. Sir Robert Peel spoke, and said, amongst other things, that the same public law which regulated the conduct of civilised States towards each other could not be applied to that of a civilised towards a barbarous people.

February 9.—Our papers say that my vindication of Auckland was most able, and my castigation of Roebuck *complete*. I had compliments from all quarters, but Roebuck will, I doubt not, try to retaliate in one way or the other.

February 12.—I went down to the House of Commons early for vote of thanks to Napier. Peel made a good speech. Howick rose and stated his objections. Then Sir Charles Napier, to whose heroic actions Peel had paid a proper compliment, spoke, and gave a detailed and very effective account of his relative's services, not forgetting Sir John Moore's famous exclamation, "Well done, the 50th; well done, my Majors!" Our Commodore told us that his cousin, at Busaco, where he, the Commodore, was an amateur, fell into his arms, being shot through the jaw, and that he bore the pain of extracting the bullet without a groan, though it was as bad as pulling out a tooth.

The bathos caused a loud laugh. The House catches anything ludicrous in the midst of the deepest distress.

I went upstairs to get a mutton-chop, not choosing to dine with Auckland and be absent from the vote. Peel took his dinner at another

table. There was no one in the room but ourselves, and not a word was spoken until we had nearly finished our chops, when at last Peel said, "I am afraid, Sir John, we shall not get the Dean and Chapter to do anything as to Lord Byron's monument." I said I was afraid not, and told him how long I had waited for Doctor Ireland's death, and how vexed I was at the present Dean's determination. He then said he thought Trinity College Library was the best place for the statue, and asked me if I had not got leave to put it there. I said, "Yes," and was going to say why I thought it ought to be in Westminster Abbey when Sir James Graham came in and stopped the conversation. 1844.

February 17.—Hannah Hope called. She told me that she and Lady Douro went to the House of Lords in the same carriage with the Duke of Wellington on Thursday last, and that, when the mob hissed the Duke, Lady Douro, passing through the lobby with the Duke, like a silly creature, said: "Is this the reception they always give you?"

On which the Duke very gruffly said: "They are a pack of blackguards, and want the Horse-Guards amongst them." A speech not worthy of this great man.

Dined with the Speaker, Russell, and some twenty-eight of our late Government officials. I sat next to Macaulay, and had some agreeable conversation with him chiefly about Lord Sid-

1844. mouth, who died a day or two ago, and whose death, except by a memoir in the *Times*, has scarcely been noticed.

Macaulay told me a joke of Peel's and said, very truly I think, that he *conceived humour but could not easily produce it.* I mentioned what Rogers had told me at Woburn on this head. Macaulay told us that Wilberforce had first introduced Hermitage at English tables, and that he heard Wilberforce confess it to some one *who asked him the question publicly.*

February 23.—House of Commons. O'Connell rose from the floor of our Bench. He was looking ill, and his wig was pulled a good deal over his face. After the rush for places had subsided there was a dead silence, and he was heard with the utmost decorum and fairness by all sides of the House. He spoke in rather a low tone, but distinctly. He principally enlarged upon the remedial measures proposed by Ministers and said that when Government showed a sincere disposition to do good it should have his assistance, heart and soul. He was much cheered at sitting down. Peel promised, at the commencement of his speech, not to be personal; and immediately made a violent attack on Lord Melbourne and J. Russell's conduct to Plunkett, in turning him out six weeks before they went out themselves. He said he would "rather have cut his right hand off than done this." He was, however, forbearing as to O'Connell and

other Traversers; and, although he said he should stand by the Irish Protestant Church in its integrity, yet spoke in a very liberal tone as to the Catholics.[1] 1844.

Lord J. Russell reiterated his charge against some violent language of Stanley's, which Stanley denied angrily across the table, and sent for a Hansard. Russell then complimented Stanley highly and stated that when Lord Melbourne offered him the lead of the House of Commons, he expressed his diffidence of his own capacity, and his hope that the rupture with Stanley might be made up, and that he would then willingly serve under Stanley as Leader of the Whig Government in the House. Stanley touched his hat and half bowed, and, instead of explaining afterwards, pushed the volume of Hansard across the table to Russell. We gave Russell a good cheering when he sat down, and thus ended this nine nights' debate, which was, as Peel said of it, "conducted with extraordinary ability." I think we had the best of it, but whether that was so or not, it was the best long debate I ever heard.

March 2.—Had a party of thirteen to dine with us, amongst whom were Bunsen and Lord Lansdowne. Bunsen was very amusing. He told me he had lived in Rome twenty-two years, and

[1] On Feb. 13 Lord John Russell had moved for a Committee of the whole House to inquire into the condition of Ireland. The proposal was defeated by 324 to 225.

1844. had been attacked by fever sixty-five times; yet he seems very healthy. He told me some one is at work on his book at Rome, to translate it into English, and said something very handsome about my historical illustrations of "Childe Harold."

I went to Lady Palmerston's assembly and had a good deal of talk with Fonblanque, of the *Examiner*. He told me that for seventeen and a half years he had never absented himself from his shop, nor remitted once his personal superintendence of the *Examiner*; if he ever did so, he felt sure the paper would lose its peculiar character. Perhaps he is right!

He spoke in the highest terms of Lord Howick, and said he was superior to his father. I think so too. He called Lord Grey "a St. Saviour's Street patriot." I told him that, twenty-one years ago, at Lambton Castle, I had foretold to Lord Grey to what eminence his son would rise, and he thought it flattery; but it was not. I had been much struck with him, having passed a week or two in his company at a shooting-box rented by Edward Ellice, near Howick.

March 20. — Dined at Lord Lansdowne's. Sydney Smith and wife, Tom Moore, Charles Buller, Macaulay, Sir Thomas Wilde, Sir George and Lady Grey, and Lord and Lady Shelburne were of the party: yet nothing very brilliant. Moore spoke little; Sydney Smith was not in great foolery. Macaulay laid down the law as usual, but I did not catch what he said.

Sydney Smith told me in the drawing-room that he called Macaulay "a book in breeches"; and that the Queen, hearing of it, said that was just what he was. 1844.

April 1.—I dined at Baring Wall's. A large party. Lord Tankerville, now almost blind, told me that Sir Philip Francis told him that he had left a volume in MS. which would sow distrust in half the great families in England, as it showed how little "real filiation" there was amongst them. What a present for posterity!

When we returned to the drawing-room, the American dwarf was brought by his Yankee showman. A very interesting little prodigy, 25 inches high, 12 years old, and who has not grown since he was 7 months old. . . . He has a head a very little too large, and no other disproportion about him. He went up to Lady Holland and took her face and admired it. She said, "Poor little fellow!" but did not shrink from him, which shows there can be nothing displeasing about him. Lady Tankerville, Lady Palmerston, Lady Caroline Lascelles, and Mrs. George Lamb, all spoke to him, and he answered them very prettily. General Tom Thumb has been twice to the Queen, and the Duke of Wellington has seen him. The Duke asked him what he was musing about, and the dwarf said, "On the loss of the battle of Waterloo."

April 3.—Dined at Mr. Ord's, M.P. Met Lady Holland, Lord Harry Vane, etc. An agreeable

1844 day, but Lady Holland called me to her in the tea-room, and began to cry and lament that she was *upon sufferance*. I told her that every one was more or less upon sufferance, and was indebted for his reception to the benevolence of others. How should it be otherwise? But she wept on until some one came up, and she then wiped her eyes and appeared as tranquil and self-possessed as ever.

April 25.—I went to the Birthday Drawing-room, which, I believe, was a very full one. I passed round and had a few very civil words from H.M. Prince Albert, as usual, very formal. The King of the Belgians looked very dark, and, I thought, aged. There were a great many beautiful young women present. Lady Clementine Villiers was one of the prettiest.

I had a few words with the Duke of Wellington, who looked very much out of sorts, and was not over-civil. The Lord Chancellor, in answer to my question about his health, said, "I am alive!"

Dined at Lady Holland's. Bingham Baring came in and we got into a corner together. I told him that I thought Ellenborough had got into a scrape about Gwalior, on which he said, "He is recalled." I thought I had misheard him and asked him what he said, he then reported that Ellenborough had been recalled and that it had been done by the Court of Directors unanimously; that they had the power of so doing

without the concurrence of the Board of Control, and that the Government could not resist. 1844.

April 26.—Met Macaulay in Piccadilly, and told him what had happened. He was much surprised.

I walked with him to his rooms in the Albany. He told me he liked the Albany because he was fond of a college life and of London, and there he had both. He lives in E. No. 1, ground-floor; comfortable rooms, but rather dark. I called on John Russell, and told him of the recall. I also told Sir James Graham. He said that he did not see how Government was to be carried on. I thought he alluded to Peel's Government, and said I thought the recall a great blow, but they would survive it, and the only thing was to send out a good Governor-General now. I added that he, Graham, was the man to go, but perhaps he would not give up the seals. He smiled and said, "Oh, as for that, it is nothing; but my going is out of the question. I should like perhaps to have gone in 1835, if I could have done so with honour, but now it is another matter."

Stanley talked to me about the recall much in the same way as Graham had done. In fact, people talked to me of nothing else.

April 29.—I went to Lady Holland's and there saw Lord Normanby, who told us that the Duke of Wellington had been making a very indiscreet speech in the House of Lords, condemning the conduct of the Court of Directors in the strongest

1844. terms, accusing them of gross indiscretion because, not knowing what orders had been given to Ellenborough, they dared to condemn his conduct. Now what signifies these orders? We have his acts before us, and with them it is the business of the Directors and the public to deal.

May 1.—I went to an assembly at Lady Brougham and Vaux's. The invitation, of course, came from the lady, and I thought there was no objection to accepting it, although the freaks of my former friend and colleague made it a doubtful case. Brougham came in a little tipsy, as Lady Malmesbury observed to me, fully dressed, having dined with the French Ambassador, and made grimaces and bows to his wife on the sofa, and then to Lady Jersey and others. He told me that the dress-suit was one that he had when at the Bar. He called me "My dear Hobhouse." The Duke of Wellington was there in regimentals. Miss Fanny Eden showed me a piece of tapestry given to Brougham by Louis Philippe, of which Brougham is very proud.

May 3.—Riding in Hyde Park I met Charles Mills, the East India Director. He told me that he did not think the public would ever know much more than at present of the Ellenborough affair. He did not think the protection of the papers could do anything but harm. The cause of the recall might be told in a few words. The man carried on business in such a way as to render all intercourse with him exceedingly disagreeable.

In fact, there could be no friendly correspondence between the Court and him. There was a want of respect on the one part, and of confidence on the other, and instead of improving he got worse, until the Court could endure him no longer. This was sufficient cause for the recall, the Court thought; but as the Board did not think so, the Court objected to his political measures, in detail. All of this, of course, would appear if the papers came before Parliament. 1844.

May 4.—I heard to-day that Sir Henry Hardinge was to be the new Governor-General. This is a sign that the Cabinet and the Directors have kissed.

I met Mr. Grote, late M.P. for London, and had a long talk with him. He had just come from Paris, and told me that Guizot was exceedingly unpopular, but that, owing to the want of character in Thiers, the Chamber always gave him a majority.

May 6.—This day Sir R. Peel expounded in a speech of three hours his plan for renewing the Bank Charter and reforming the Banking System generally. All right, at least in a right direction.

May 8.—I dined at Lord Auckland's. His sisters, Lady Pamela Campbell, her pretty daughter, and Lady Theresa Lister, were the ladies of the party.

Lady Theresa Lister, a most agreeable person, knows Lord J. Russell well. She gave me a character of him which I thought very just. She

1844. told me, however, what I did not know: that he was never influenced by any other woman than his wife, either his present or late.

May 11.—Lord Sudeley told me that George Sinclair is writing Burdett's life, also that G. Sinclair tried to *convert* Burdett. A strange enterprise, said Sudeley, in respect to a man whom I have heard say that "No one out of Bedlam could believe *that story*." Burdett, however, was no scoffer, although certainly no believer when I knew him intimately. He was at the same time a well-wisher to the Church of England as a political institution, and thought that, confined to its legitimate purposes and rights, it ought to be supported.

May 16.—I had a party to dine with me—Lady Pamela Campbell and Miss Campbell, the Duke and Duchess of Bedford, etc. A very pleasant day, made so by the liveliness of Lady Campbell and the party being well known to each other. Lady Dacre told me she had just passed her seventy-seventh birthday. A very extraordinary woman. The Duchess of Bedford gave me a little court gossip.

May 18.—I dined at S.S.B.S.—a large party. Lord Saltoun there, just returned from China. He told me that when the three Imperial Commissioners dined with Pottinger, Sir W. Parker, and him, they drank more than ever he had seen men drink. One of them drank sixteen tumblers of wine as forfeits for losing at *Morro*. I did not

know that game had got to China. Lord Saltoun was much struck with the ingenuity of the Chinese, but they will not fight. He spoke of Pottinger as very indiscreet and intemperate in his dealings with the Commander-in-Chief, Parker, to whom he had written most unjustifiable letters. Saltoun had no doubt that Pottinger wrote the letter about the Ameers of Scinde, which made so much noise in Parliament. 1844.

Saltoun went to Calcutta in March last, and saw Lord Ellenborough, who told him to say to the Duke of Wellington that he, Ellenborough, would *carry* on as long as he could, if permitted to stay. Saltoun said that, though it did not strike him at the time, he had no doubt Ellenborough thought his recall not improbable.

May 19.—Met Sir James Lushington, and had a talk on Ellenborough's recall. He said the man was mad. The Directors had no other course than to recall him. He said the Duke of Wellington, in talking of the gross indiscretion of the Court of Directors, had shown more indiscretion himself; also that the Court had offered to hush matters up if the Government would come to some arrangement for quietly bringing Ellenborough home, but the Duke of Wellington would not consent.

May 20.—I went with T. Duncombe to Lady Blessington's at Kensington Grove, where Count d'Orsay showed me his portrait of Lord Byron. I made some remarks which induced him to alter it

1844. a good deal. Lady Blessington told me some anecdotes, or rather sayings, of Byron, which I can easily believe to be true. Her published notice of Byron seems to me very fair and faithful. There are two large deer-hounds in the courtyard, which T. Duncombe told me were unchained at night to scare off creditors.

May 21.—I dined with Van De Weyer. A large party. The French Ambassador and M^me^ de Saint-Aulaire, Lord and Lady Lansdowne, and Lord Ponsonby were amongst the guests.

M. de Saint-Aulaire introduced himself to me and said it was his "malheur" that he had not known me before.

I had a long conversation with Lord Ponsonby, principally about Turkey. He was Ambassador at the Porte between eight and nine years. He entertained a favourable opinion of the Turks, though the new military discipline had made them more formidable than before. Lord Ponsonby told me two stories such as, he said, might have been met with in the "Arabian Nights."

The Sultan has a dwarf with whom he plays and jokes. One day he told this dwarf he would give him a beautiful slave if the dwarf would kiss her. This the dwarf could not do, for the beauty was tall; but one day, when the fair slave was presenting some flowers or sherbet to the Sultan, she fell on her knees and touched the ground with her forehead, according to usage; and the dwarf, watching his opportunity, jumped

upon her neck, and, kissing her, demanded her as a present. The Sultan, though much vexed—for the girl was a favourite—kept his promise, and gave her to the dwarf. 1844.

Lord Ponsonby told me he felt satisfied that the French would not rest long without going to war with us. He has seen something of them of late years.

May 24.—Dined with a party at Lady Holland's. A very agreeable day. Lord Melbourne was in high force. His intellects have suffered nothing by his last attack. He talked of Dean Swift and his great influence in his time. He remarked that he was scarcely remembered now in Dublin, and that the places that he hoped to immortalise, *e.g.* Trim, Castleknock, etc., are never connected with his name. I said that Swift hated the Irish from the bottom of his heart—his last legacy was a curse:

> "He left the little wealth he had
> To build a house for fools and mad,
> And show, by one satiric touch,
> No nation wanted it so much."

Lord Melbourne told us that, at the palace dinner a day or two ago, he sat next to a maid of honour, and said, "This dish is damned bad. On ordinary occasions I should try to leave out the adjective; but on this it is not worth while, it is so damned bad." Said the maid of honour, "Had you not better try?" that is, to leave out.

1844. "For shame!" said Lady Holland; "the maid of honour said right."

Lord Melbourne then told us that he remarked to the Bishop of London that it was not easy to know whom to pray to, or what to pray for. Lady Holland again remarked he ought to be ashamed of himself; but Lord Melbourne replied, "Not at all; but, whether I ought or not, I said it, and the Bishop was not angry, and remarked that Plato had said the same thing, and shortly after he came behind my chair and repeated the Greek from the 'Alcibiades.'"

Some one observed that the Bishop might as well have remarked that the Lord's Prayer told us how we ought to pray and what to pray for better than Plato.

Lord Melbourne laughed at the taste of some lawyers, and mentioned the story that Lord Ellenborough, having sat out the play of *Othello*, said: "He, Othello, had not a tittle of evidence that she was guilty." Chief Justice Tindal did not relish this, I thought.

Lord Melbourne told us that when he was Home Secretary of State he used to go through the cases when there was no doubt about the propriety of the sentence being executed, and he recollected once having been four or five hours with Chief Justice Lord Tenterden examining precedents in regard to a man who was convicted of murder for pushing another overboard. The man was not *hanged*. Tindal said he recollected

the case well, and mentioned the particulars. 1844.
Both he and Melbourne seemed to have a minute recollection of all the facts.

When we got to the drawing-room Lord Melbourne asked me to come near him, and told me that the Queen had an opinion in favour of Lord Ellenborough and against the Directors. I said, of course she listened to the Duke of Wellington and to Lord Ellenborough himself, with whom Sir James Lushington told me she corresponded, very irregularly, I thought. Lord Melbourne said he did not think so. H.M. might correspond with the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; why not with the Viceroy of India? He is not Viceroy, he represents the Company, not the Queen!!

Lord Melbourne asked me whether I thought the Directors had a case against Ellenborough. I said, "If disobedience of positive orders was a case, they had." He asked, "May I say so to the Queen?" I replied, "You may."

The Bishop of St. David's came in. Lady Holland moved her seat soon afterwards to a chair near mine, and talked a good deal privately. She seemed pleased with her company, and said, "No one can say I am without society, when I have two Judges, a Bishop, an Ex-Prime Minister, etc., in my room at once." Sir T. Wilde had come in, and Lord Campbell. She said many flattering things to me not worth putting down, and talked much of Lord Mel-

1844. bourne's esteem for me. I rather think he does like me.

I went to a great ball at the Duke of Wellington's. They say 1,500 people were invited. The Duke looked very well. The rooms quite full, but, excepting Palmerston and Lord Bessborough, I saw none of our people. I made my bow to the Duke, who was seated on a settee with the Duchess of Cambridge, Lady Wilton, Lady Jersey, and received the homage of a circle in front that kept at a respectful distance, and retired as he moved.

Brougham came in with Lady Brougham and pushed up to the Duke, who rose and spoke to them with more attention than he showed to any one else—by way of wiping off some of the disgrace of his defeat in the House of Lords, in the famous case of his gates and the Carlisle railway. I confess I am sorry for this exhibition of the night before. Brougham has never before shown himself shabby about money matters. As for the Duke, he knew nothing about the business in question, and defended an ideal case not the least connected with the real transaction; so much so that even Brougham was obliged to set His Grace right, and say he had a personal interest in the matter. He was beaten by 33 to 32, though the Duke and Lord Melbourne voted with him. Lord Clanricarde exposed the transaction, and Lord Radnor and others characterised it in strongest terms of reprobation.

Brougham looked very queer as he brushed by Lord Bessborough and me, though his wife invited both of us to her assembly on the next Wednesday. 1844.

May 25.—I met James Grattan, who has just come from Rome, and told me that the Pope spoke to him about O'Connell and seemed to regard him as a sort of martyr of the faith. This also appeared to be the prevalent opinion at Rome. It is, then, on recent opinion, thanks to the late trials.

May 31.—Wrote a letter of introduction to Sir H. Hardinge for my nephew Charles. I shall never see him more, in all human probability. When he returns from India I, and most likely his father too, will have "finished the idle business of our lives," and he will be the representative of our family.

June 1.—Dined at S.S.B.S. Lord Saltoun in the chair—a very pleasant day. Lord Saltoun mentioned that he was on guard over the Emperor Alexander at Paris in 1815, when he was at the Elysée Bourbon, and that the Emperor sent for him to complain that he had not heard the guard relieved during the night. On which Lord Saltoun explained that it was not customary to make a clashing of arms when English guards were relieved in royal palaces, but only to tap the foot once for signal, and to reply with two taps of the foot. The Emperor desired Lord Saltoun to show him how that was done, and the English sentinel was called in to do it before Alexander. A very singular story, from a truth-speaking man.

1844. Walking home with Lord Saltoun, he told Stephenson and me that Sir H. Pottinger, wishing to have a translation of parts of the Scriptures, consulted Mr. R. Morrison, who informed him that the Chinese generally had no notion of God, and had no word in common use for the Supreme Being. Since the English have occupied Hong-Kong a Roman Catholic Church has been built, and two or three chapels for Protestant dissenters, but there is no place of worship for the Established Church.

June 5.—Dined with Sir John Easthope of the *Chronicle*—a grand affair. There was Lord Melbourne, Lord and Lady Palmerston, Lord Sudeley and his daughter, Lord and Lady Fortescue, and others. Lady Easthope, a handsome person, performed the honours very well, and so did her husband.

Lord Fortescue, as usual, fell asleep after dinner. The gay, good-natured Lady Palmerston went through the ceremonies of the visit very well, and was as civil as if the hostess had been her fashionable friend of thirty years.

June 8.—I went in my carriage to the Breakfast at Chiswick. As my carriage drew up before the Palladian Villas, I saw the Duke of Devonshire, and Lord Morpeth, and Stanley, receive some of our Royal Family. . . .

Shortly after the approach of the Emperor of Russia was announced, the royal carriages, an open landau with the Emperor, the King of Saxony, Prince Albert, and Count Orloff drove

up. There stood the Duke in his plain evening dress, but with his blue ribbon, and I must say that he lost nothing by contrast with the tall master of millions that he welcomed to his house. The Emperor shook both his hands and saluted both his cheeks, or leant over his shoulders as if doing so. Nothing could be more courteous nor cordial than his address to the Duke. He is not so tall as I expected to find him, portly, inclined to be fat, but well made. His features were good and regular, but have rather a hard expression; his hair is but scanty, and fast disappearing. I do not see in him that which the letters from the Maltese attributes to him, "A combination and a form indeed, which every god had set his seal upon"; but he is a fine-looking man. 1844.

Standish, Greville, and I were close to him when he came in. Brunnow joined me. He told me he should introduce me to the Emperor, and presently Prince Albert came up to me and talked about the four giraffes which he had seen from the window on the lawn. He shook hands for old time's sake, and went into the room to bring out the Emperor and show him the giraffes. Shortly after Brunnow introduced me to the Emperor. H.I.M. said two or three civil things to me about the weather and the place, and I answered by a low bow.

I went into the garden grounds, where the company were in groups on the lawn—a very

1844. beautiful sight, much heightened by the fine weather.

I had some conversation with Lord Douro, who appeared to me to have more in him, as they say, than I had before suspected. He made some good reflections on the difference between the courage of indifference and the resolution which arises from a sense of duty. He thought Napoleon naturally not a very bold man. "But," said he, "my father does not think of danger or know anything of it. He was accustomed to talk about indifferent matters and cut jokes in the heat of battle." He added, "You know Garwood, a most distinguished soldier; now he is a timid man." Miss Fanny Eden was with us, and remarked that practice ought to diminish fear; for example, speakers in Parliament lost apprehension by use. I told her it was not so. "Why," said she, "you are not afraid!"

"There you are wrong," said Lord Douro; "he is the most nervous man in the House."

I replied it did not much signify whether it was so or not with men like me, but that real orators were generally timid and never got the better of it. Fox did not; Lord Holland told me so.

Lord Douro said: "Nor did Canning; he always took opium when he had to make a great speech. But genius and excitability go together; indeed, they are the same thing."

I joined Lord Ponsonby, and we kept apart from the circle into which the Emperor had

come from the luncheon-room, and where we saw him receiving those who were presented to him with the greatest affability. When ladies were brought up to him he stood with his hat off the whole time. 1844.

Lord Ponsonby told me he was brought up at Chiswick, and had witnessed some singular adventures there in former days. "Ah," said he, "if the trees could but talk!"

Lord Minto joined us. He remarked that the Guelphic Knights[1] all wore their stars and ribbons; the Knights of the Bath not, at least few of them; he did not, nor did Lord Ponsonby. It is generally so, the higher the dignity the less the ostentation. To this, however, there are exceptions. Lord Wellesley wore his star and ribbon over his dressing-gown, and that a short time before his death.

I saw the King of Saxony several times, but he was eclipsed by the Czar. No one appeared to look at him; but he has a pleasing face and not a bad figure. The Sovereigns went away about 4 o'clock.

June 9.—H.I.M. left Buckingham Palace this evening at five o'clock for Woolwich, and embarked the same evening for the Continent. I dined at Lady Holland's, and heard he was gone. Everyone was glad he was gone; but, in spite of our Poles, I cannot think he was in the least danger.

[1] The Guelphic Order was instituted in England by George IV. when Prince Regent in 1815. The statutes were revised in 1841.

1844 *June* 15.—I dined with Vernon Smith. Met his father, Mrs. Smith, Lord and Lady Lansdowne, and Lady Louisa, Lord and Lady Dacre, Miss Sullivan, and Macaulay. Macaulay did not shine insufferably, but was most amusing, particularly about the American political parties and their names.

I had some very pleasant conversation with Lady Lansdowne in the tea-room. She would be a charming person if she were not capricious. I told her of the Emperor of Russia having asked Lady Seymour to sit for just two minutes that he might look at her, as he should never see anything so beautiful again. Lady Lansdowne said she thought it "very impertinent," and she thought right.

N.B.—The Emperor asked Mrs. Norton if she thought the devil (himself) so black as he was painted. I heard Lady Dufferin tell the story to the Duke of Devonshire, but did not catch Mrs. Norton's answer.

June 16.—I dined at Baron Lionel de Rothschild's, a grand entertainment in a fine house, Piccadilly Terrace. Lord and Lady Lansdowne, Lord and Lady John Russell, Lord and Lady Minto, Lord Auckland, Mrs. Elliott, Lord and Lady Marcus Hill, Lord Dudley Stuart, and others, besides Mr. Benjamin and Mrs. Disraeli, to bring whom together with our Whig leaders I cannot help thinking the party was in a great measure made.

I sat next to this pride and pattern of the new generation—whose novel I was reading just before I met him. He was very communicative, and spoke with that sort of confidence which sometimes belongs to men of genius, and sometimes to very impudent pretenders.[1] 1844.

He said he did not believe Ministers could stand if our party played their cards well, and that he believed they would be out by five o'clock the next day. I told him I not think so, and, moreover, did not see who were to succeed them if they did go out. He replied that Lord J. Russell and his friends might *easily*, but not if they tried to govern on the old Whig scheme. I mentioned Ireland and the Corn-laws, and the Poor-law as almost indefensible obstacles. He said Ireland was no obstacle; we could govern it, although the Tories could not. The Corn-laws might be settled as well by us as by Peel, and as to the Poor-laws, some modification must be made by any one who would govern. I shook my head at this, but he still persisted and declared that Peel had completely failed to keep together his party and must *go*, if not now at least very speedily. He said Russell was one of the very few men in the House of Commons who had a *strong will*, and was fit to govern. He thought nothing of Stanley; Graham he admired for his capacity. He spoke

[1] He confessed that "Coningsby" was a hit, and told that he had received letters from all parts of the country saying as much and informing him that he had done the one thing needful, and told the truth.

1844. of others with great freedom, and said that what astonished him most was the exceeding ignorance of public men, very few had ever heard of Lord Shelburne, etc. I did not know amongst what set of men he had lived.

I had a long conversation with Lord J. Russell. He agreed with me that our party were not in a condition to take the government; nevertheless, he did not see how Peel was to get out of his embarrassments, after the strong declaration of Gladstone that the present Sugar Duties could not be continued for another year. Lord John had not seen Lord Melbourne. He had not summoned the party or made any preparation for the proceedings of the next day.

June 17.—I went to the wedding of my friend and niece by marriage, Hannah Hope Vere, who was married at St. George's Church to Keith Stewart Mackenzie, eldest son of my old friend, late Governor of Ceylon and of the Ionian Islands; a very good-looking young fellow of twenty-six.

It was a grand affair. Hannah was given away by the Duke of Wellington, who went through the ceremony with great decorum. Lady Douro was there looking very handsome, and so was Lady Lincoln. The Duchess of Hamilton and her starch trooper, the Duke, were of the party.

I went afterwards to the breakfast at Lady Elizabeth Hope Vere's. The Duke of Wellington was more gracious than usual, and did the honours

at the table very pleasingly. He sat next to the bride and proposed her health and Mr. Mackenzie's just before he went away. When he retired the company rose and clapped their hands. If he is spoilt it is no wonder. He walked across the lane to the garden adjoining his house; a policeman walked behind him. The wedding band before the house played, "See the conquering hero comes." 1844.

House of Commons—lobbies crowded, so were the galleries. Peel was speaking. Every one was staring and stretching to hear something about the fate of the Government. At last he confessed that the rejection and dealing of measures, as much this Session as the last, placed the Government in no enviable position. Also that the difference of opinion between them and their supporters was the more painful because it was on a small matter, and therefore betrayed more signal want of confidence, but he wound up by saying that he could not give way, and he should propose an Amendment of Mr. Miles's proposal of a twenty-shilling duty by moving a twenty-four shilling duty. He did not say anything positively about resigning, but the inference was implied.

The moment it was known Ministers did not resign, many members quitted their seats to write letters in the library, and it was some time before Russell could be heard; but he made an admirable speech, and stated exactly what Peel was

1844. about to attempt, viz. to save himself at the expense of the character of his followers, and the honour of the House, and in defiance of their solemn and recorded votes and opinions. He concluded by calling on those who had voted on Friday for Miles to stand by themselves, or their independence was gone for ever. He was cheered very much on all sides when he sat down. Mr. Miles then declared very quietly, but bravely, his intention of standing by his original proposal, and lamented the decision of Sir R. Peel.

Mr. B. Disraeli rose and made a side-attack on the Prime Minister for his attempt to degrade his friends and the House of Commons, and in the course of his remarks said that the only slavery which Peel did not seem to have in honour was that of his supporters, whom he expected to do his bidding, however repugnant to their feelings and consciences.

There was a tremendous cheer at this, and Peel, Stanley, and Graham sat in most painful silence and submission to the rebuke, amidst the applause of many near, and all opposite to them. I never saw them look so wretched. . . . Lord Howick made a very strong attack on the Corn-laws, and gave Lord Stanley an opportunity of appealing to the country gentlemen, and making a fair retort. Nothing could be in worse taste nor tact.

Disraeli came up and told me that all the Ministerialists who voted for Miles on Friday would be staunch, and that Peel would be beaten.

We divided, and it was soon apparent in our lobby that we were beaten; but, after all, we were beaten only by the league 255 to 233.[1] When the numbers were announced there was great cheering and laughter from us, answered by faint cheering from behind the Ministers. The 24*s.* was put and carried without a division. Thus closed this eventful day, much as I thought it would. 1844.

June 18.—Met Mr. Sterling, of the *Times*, who said the Ministerial crisis was not over. Peel could not stand. This appears to be the general opinion, but the fear of the Whigs and of a dissolution of Parliament may go far to bolster up the Government.

June 22.—I went to that most tiresome of all amusements—a breakfast at Lady Shelley's at Fulham, and thence to Templeton Lodge, and dined with Lord Langdale. He has much improved this pleasing valley since my father's old friend, Temple, lived there, and has laid out a pretty flower-garden in green slopes and gravel-walks with much taste: his own work. This amiable man ought to be happy, and I believe is so.

June 26.—I went to a musical party at Miss Alexander's, and there heard the famous Mendelssohn play on the piano, first with Moscheles, and then extempore by himself. He has the air

[1] On June 14 the Government were defeated in Committee on an amendment to the Sugar Duties, moved by Mr. Miles, by 241 to 221. On the 17th, under threat of resignation, Sir R. Peel induced the House to rescind its former vote, which was done by 255 to 233.

1844. of inspiration when playing, and though with a decidedly Jewish look, has one of the finest countenances I ever saw.

Lockhart was there, and looked at him with earnest admiration. Sam Rogers came also. I was introduced to him, and he spoke to me for some time about Lord Byron and the alleged harshness of his manners.

A young lady of the name of Parker played on the violin—not a pleasant performance. Mendelssohn accompanied her once, and seemed to correct her. He said to me that there was Raphael's authority for Apollo playing on a violin, but not one of the Muses.

Moscheles played admirably. By some he is preferred to Mendelssohn; but the organ is the real instrument of the *great* Mendelssohn, as he is called.

June 28.—Russell told me that Lord Stanley had remarked to him that, if we had turned out Ministers on the Sugar vote, the Conservative party would have been broken to pieces for many years. Russell did not think so; but he agreed with me that the formation of a Government was not altogether so desperate a thing as some supposed.

He told me a conversation he had with Lord Aberdeen at the Palace the other day about Peel's want of temper and irritation at the conduct of some of his party. Lord Aberdeen could not understand this want of equanimity, and con-

trasted it with Russell's behaviour when leader; but he said, very truly, that Peel's majority was too large. 1844.

House of Commons. Lord Stanley seemed in high spirits, and, as the House broke up, said to me, "This is doing business, Sir John Hobhouse." "Yes, you are getting on," said I. "I wish we were getting off," he replied.

June 30.—Something should be done in regard to Byron, more especially after the declaration of the Bishop of London that, Byron having written against Christianity, ought not to have a memorial in the Abbey.

July 2.—I dined at Lord Carrington's. A pleasant party, and I had the good fortune to hand down to dinner and sit by Mademoiselle d'Este, one of the most agreeable women, with a certain freedom of manner, I ever met with.

The pretty Mrs. George Anson was there, and the Colonel, who told me that such was the grossness of the judges to try the Running Rein case[1] (decided a day or two ago against that cheat) that the judges *tossed up for it*. So funny a story that I never inquired into the truth of it.

July 3.—I went, by the invitation of the executors, to Campbell's funeral. We assembled

[1] On May 22 the Derby was won by a horse called Running Rein, whereupon Colonel Peel, owner of Orlando, which ran second, claimed the stakes on the ground that the age of Running Rein was fraudulently stated. The case was tried, and the whole fraud was exposed on July 1, in the Court of Exchequer, before Baron Alderson.

1844. in the Jerusalem Chambers. Sir R. Peel more formal, if possible, than usual. In the room itself were Macaulay, Lord Aberdeen, Mr. B. Disraeli, Monckton Milnes, Dr. Croly, Lord Campbell, and a crowd whom I did not know.

There was a good deal of talk not very appropriate between some of us. Macaulay said that if the crowd increased much we should be stifled, and quoted "In that Jerusalem shall Harry die. . . ."

Monckton Milnes asked which we thought Campbell's best poem. Macaulay said "The Pleasures of Hope" was a good prize poem, "Gertrude of Wyoming" was better, but the "Odes" were his masterpiece. Milnes said they were only songs or ballads, and said this so loud that Macaulay stopped him. We talked of the man himself, and said what was true of his personal character. Macaulay repeated Byron's lines in "Don Juan" in reference to "Gertrude of Wyoming."

"The bard I quote from does not sing amiss"; and so we went on some time.

Disraeli began to talk about the Post Office business. He said the opening letters was a good hedge for granting the Penny Postage.

After nearly an hour we began to move, but without any orders. Sheil, Disraeli, Macaulay, Dr. Croly, and myself, were squeezed and elbowed backwards and forwards until we got angry, and all exclaimed against the bad management of

the funeral. At last both the Doctor and I got through the gate, but Macaulay and Disraeli went away. Milman read the service very ill, in a loud, harsh, theatrical tone. I saw only one person in tears, I believe a relation of Campbell's. The newspapers have given a very different account of this ceremony as being most solemn, decorous, and affecting; but what I saw I set down. 1844.

I do not think any one knew him much better than myself, and what I know of him does not at all tally with the eulogies now passed upon his character; I mean as a social man. He was vain, captious, uncertain, exceedingly suspicious, and had nothing in his general conversation either amusing or instructive. But he was, through life, a very poor man, which will account for many of these infirmities, and that he had qualities of a high character cannot be denied. As a poet, if not the first, he is in the very first line. Byron could not have written the "Mariners of England," "Hohenlinden," or "Copenhagen," any more than Campbell could have written "Childe Harold"; but in the effect produced on the taste and style of their contemporaries the two cannot be compared. Byron is incomparably the greater of the two.

I cannot help feeling more indignant than ever at the exclusion of my friend's monument from those precincts which record the remains of his not superior rival, but I am powerless in this

1844. respect. However, I shall assemble the subscribers to the statue, and determine on some measure in regard to it.

July 4.—Michael Bruce told me and Lord Ponsonby last Sunday that when Eldon was on his death-bed a Bishop came twice to pray with him, and locked the door. The third time the dying man forbade his attendance, complaining of the door being locked, and saying, "I do not know what might be said on my being alone with a Bishop." Bruce mentioned his authority—who was with Lord Eldon at his death.

July 6.—I met Sydney Smith the other day at the door of the Archbishop of York's, and he said to me, talking of the drought, "I wonder whether our clergy have set to in earnest with that prayer in our liturgy. Make them do it, and we shall have rain," and he chuckled violently.

Dined at the Speaker's. A large party. The American Minister is a quiet, pleasing man. He told me his wife had an ancestor who, two hundred years ago, was a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; and he seemed pleased with the recollection.

Lord Campbell told me, notwithstanding all the abuse of Brougham, and the discredit into which he has fallen in the country, he does pretty much what he likes in the Lords. Even the Duke is afraid of him. Campbell added that Brougham's great object was to get well, or to appear to be so, with everybody; and, in spite

of past quarrels and present perfidy, he has succeeded. Even Lord Grey and his family (except Howick) are now on most intimate terms with him, and Lady Grey had written in the most affectionate language to him the other day. Campbell saw the letter. It is not very long since neither Lord Grey nor any of his family would willingly be in the same room with him. 1844.

A few days ago Brougham volunteered a visit to Cassiobury in defiance of Lord Essex's known dislike of him, but he was so treated that he returned to London the same evening. Lord Essex said to him, "You may do what you like in the Lords; but not here."

July 26.—Went to Bohn, the bookseller, to buy books. Whilst there Thomas Carlyle, the historian, came in. A tall, thin man. I only just caught a glimpse of him.

July 29.—Went to a meeting of subscribers to the Byron monument. I told them I had positive information the present Dean and Chapter would not admit the statue. Rogers said he did not wish to lie in Westminster Abbey; the company was not good. Byron could gain nothing in fame by having his statue there; but, as it was wished, a trial ought to be made. However, the general opinion was that no formal demand should be made. It was finally agreed that the Master of Trinity College should be sounded by me as to whether the statue might be admitted into the Ante-chapel, where Newton stands.

1844. Sir R. Peel and his brother were both summoned, being subscribers, but took no notice of my lithographed circular. But Sir Robert could be a pall-bearer at Campbell's funeral; it gave him distinction, and seemed so liberal and literary!

July 31.—Went to a concert at the Duke of Wellington's to meet the Duke and Duchess of Mecklenburg and some of our R.H.H. A great crowd. The show of the night was Lady Sale, and every one was squeezing and standing on tip-toe to catch a sight of her, amongst others Lady Palmerston and my late colleague. I saw her—a thin, plain, dark-skinned old woman, nothing like what might be conjectured of Florentia Sale. Sir Willoughby Cotton offered to introduce me to her, but I declined the attempt. Sir R. Sale was also there, but I could not catch a sight of him. Brougham and I exchanged a few words. I happened to say that I supposed he had had enough of it. "Yes," said he, "I have been here since a quarter to seven." I could not help smiling at the ingenuity by which he contrived to let me know he had been one of the dinner-party.

The Duke of Wellington was looking very well. I saw my friend, Mrs. Stuart Mackenzie, for the first time since her marriage. By the way, her handsome sister Jane is going to be married to Lord Loftus.

Peel was there, looking rather grim. I could not help thinking that, after all, Duke and

H.R.H., everybody, and everything were, for the moment, under him—he is master, the son of a cotton-spinner. Yet it is a good blunder to suppose these elevations are peculiar to the present age. The elder Craggs was footman to the Duchess of Marlborough, and he was Post-master-General. The younger Craggs, his son, was Secretary of State, and, had he lived, might easily have been First Minister. 1844.

August 2.—Looking over letters about the Byron monument. Found some very curious, *e.g.* from Walter Scott, Goethe, Pindemonte, in a letter from Count Albrizzi. The old gentleman would have nothing to do with a statue of a poet who had written against religion, and had been censured by the Grand Chancellor of England. Moreover, he had not forgotten that I had said something of his devotion in the Essay on Italian Literature. The persons who declined to do this honour to Byron were Pindemonte, A. de Stael, and the Duke de Broglie (but only on the score of not being enough acquainted with Byron). Lord Delawarr and Lord Plymouth—these alone of all those to whom I applied gave an answer in the negative.

August 5.—Received an answer from the Master of Trinity, from which I collect that it will be difficult, if not impossible, to gain admission for the statue into Trinity Chapel, but still proposing Trinity Library—a civil, and on the whole a liberal letter, but still unsatisfactory.

1844. *August* 27.—Heard Mr. Thomas Methuen preach a sermon in aid of the funds of the Church Missionary Society. He and Mr. Nott, our curate, afterwards dined with us. Nott mentioned a sermon of Rowland Hill's, beginning with "My dear friends, did you ever see a cat walking on a wall strewed with broken glass? How carefully he picks his way! Such is the walk of a Christian through the ways of this wicked world." We all laughed aloud.

September 6.—A writ was moved for North Lancashire, Lord Stanley having retired in order to be called to the House of Peers, so it is said. Tom Duncombe asked if was still Secretary for the Colonies, and Peel answered "Yes," amidst laughter; but this change is another proof that the present Government is sensible of its increasing weakness, or that Stanley is sensible of his increasing insignificance.

September 10.—Dr. Parry and his two daughters came to me. He told us several curious anecdotes, amongst others, that he was with Mr. Carlyon waiting in the Claude Loraine Gallery of the Louvre to see Buonaparte proceed in state to the Sénat Conservateur, when Mr. and Mrs. Fox and one gentleman came in, and Mr. Fox walked round the room looking at the drawings and sketches, by Claude. Mrs. Fox went to the window, and, as the procession passed, called out: "Mr. Fox! Mr. Fox!" Mr. Fox went to the window and looked out for a moment, but then

turned back with disgust and impatience, and, lifting up his hands, returned to examine the drawings. 1844.

This was the first day that Buonaparte put on the green-and-gold liveries of Royalty. No one was in the room besides those mentioned, and the story is worth stating, as it shows Mr. Fox's feelings in regard to Buonaparte at that time, when he was said to have been dazzled by his splendour.

Doctor Parry heard Sir Philip Francis make the reply to Buonaparte which was so much censured at the time, but I see no harm in it. Buonaparte said to him: "I hope the peace between England and France will last." To which Francis answered, "That depends on you, General."

September 23.—Tom Moore came to stay with me at Erle Stoke for the first time. He mentioned that Lord Holland read to him a memoir of his own times, in which occurred these words: "Thomas Moore, an Irish poet, with more wit than discretion, attacked the Regent, George IV., for, etc." The allusion was to Moore's parody of "No predilections," which Lord Holland himself had suggested to Moore. "Such," said Moore, "are the friendships of the great."

September 25.—Moore left me—an excellent fellow. He is much shattered. When he went away he first lost his umbrella, then his hat, then put on the wrong coat. First said he would

1844. go with the ladies in my carriage, then preferred going with Morris, and at last took my carriage. He had never been able to find the way to his bedroom. I showed it him three times, Lady Marcus Hill twice.

I told him what we had done about the Byron statue and gave him my Remarks to carry home with him, but when I went to look for his umbrella I saw the pamphlet lying on his portmanteau, and, not wishing it to be dropped on the road, put it in my pocket. I dare say he will forget I ever spoke to him on the subject; but I shall send him a copy.

September 28.—Heard from Tom Moore, who tells me the pamphlet *is perfect*, and that he could not expect anything so perfect *even from me!*

I also had a letter from Sir Martin Archer Shee, telling me my Remarks on the Byron monument were written like a scholar and a gentleman.

Mr. Murray has written to say he had made up his mind to publish the pamphlet before he received my letter, and that it would do the writer credit! Lady Holland writes that the Remarks are *admirable*, and hopes I will not hesitate to publish them.

October 27.—Took a long walk with Sir Claude Wade. He is a very singular man. He was thirty-four years in India, and must be advanced in years, but, by help of a wig and great activity and liveliness, has the air of a young man.

He told the story of the burying Fakir at Lahore, whom he saw restored to life after six weeks' interment; he said he believed there was no trick in the performance. Runjeet Singh was present when the man was brought to life, and, although incredulous at first, was quite converted. Wade treated Doctor Macgregor's disbelief as the mere obstinacy of a theoretic man, determined to believe nothing against his own system; but confessed that he did not expect to be believed when he told the story. 1844.

November 12.—London. I called on Macaulay in the Albany, and had a long conversation with him on my pamphlet. He praised the remarks very much as he had done in his letter to me, and urged me to expand them into a more detailed account of Byron. I gave him my reasons for not wishing to do so, and dwelt on the difficulty of treating the question of the separation from his wife. I gave him my version of it, and he said he thought it might be treated of so as to do no material injury to either party. He thought Lady Byron excusable in taking measures to ascertain whether her husband was mad, and though he thought her conclusion wrong, yet, with her convictions, it would have been difficult for her to have acted otherwise. He said he was relieved by my narrative from very painful impressions in regard to Byron, but thought that Romilly and Lushington might have been quite justified in recommending a separation. He said

1844. I had better publish what I intended in regard to a detailed account of Byron in my lifetime.

Macaulay thought the British Museum a fitter place for Byron's statue than Trinity College.

November 19.—I dined this day at Mr. Plowden's, the Indian Director, my old antagonist at Nottingham in 1837. There were present Sir Robert and Lady Sale, Sir Henry and Lady Pottinger, Admiral Sir William Parker, etc.

Lady Sale is a plain woman, thin and meagre-looking, with little expression; but she is quite mild and quiet in her manners, and has not the least the air of a woman who could write her celebrated journal.

The lady next to me, a sister of Mr. Plowden's, told me that Lady Sale had proposed to the women who were prisoners with her that they should blow up the fort if any insult was offered to them; but Akbar Khan was civil to them, and gave no sort of opportunity for this heroic sacrifice.

Sir Robert Sale is a bluff little man, pursy and stiff, with white hair, and white teeth also. He speaks abruptly, but is exceedingly unpretending and quiet. I could not help looking at him with the greatest interest, remembering his heroic advance of Jelalabad.

I had some conversation with Lady Sale, who did not seem so much pleased with going out to India again as her husband was. She told me of the handsome reception given to her by the

Queen the other day at Windsor. H.M. invited her to see the royal children both at night and in the morning, when she brought them into her. Lady Sale described H.M. well, as a woman who was affable and condescending, but decided and resolved to maintain proper state on all occasions. 1844.

December 11.—I went to a great dinner given at Merchant Taylors' Hall, to Sir H. Pottinger. John Abel Smith, M.P., the chairman, told me nothing could be shabbier than the conduct of the Government in regard to this dinner. Peel had written to him begging *not* to be invited, but he was invited and declined coming.

It was what Lord Aberdeen called it, a remarkable meeting, and I did not regret having come to town on purpose for it. Indeed, the members of the late Government could hardly fail to attend, the only doubt must have been how those who had denounced the Chinese War could assist in celebrating the result of it.

CHAPTER XII

1845. *January* 4.—Erle Stoke. Sir Henry Pottinger and his wife came to me. Sir Henry was very agreeable, and talked without reserve of his China mission. From all I could collect I feel convinced that, until now, none of our Chinese scholars, Staunton, etc., have understood the Chinese character. Indeed, they have never had an opportunity of knowing them half so well as Pottinger.

Pottinger told the Queen that the Chinese could find no other title for her than sister to the Emperor, and aunt to the moon, on which H.M. laughed heartily. He said the Chinese have no notion of a Supreme Being, and, as a proof of this, mentioned that when he commented on a letter of the Emperor, in which H.M. had said he was Father of all Nations, and declared that such a phrase was injurious to the character of our Queen, who acknowledged no superior but God, and he begged the Emperor might be told so, the reply of the missionary was that all the interpreters in China could not render such a phrase intelligible to His Imperial Majesty. The Emperor is himself the first prominent being, with no one above him.

Pottinger has an easy, quiet way of telling a story, and is evidently of a humorous turn of mind. His wife is a handsome, plump, fair woman, who has been three times to India, but has not suffered from the climate. Her hair, teeth, complexion, and freshness, are unimpaired. He is certainly one of the most remarkable men of his time, and I may say truly that, after his own great merit, he owes his advancement to myself. 1845.

January 6.—Lord Lansdowne, the Speaker, and Edward Ellice came to me at Erle Stoke. Lord Lansdowne was in high feather, and, as usual with him, most civil and obliging, and full of pleasing conversation.

February 2.—Mr. Gladstone has resigned the Presidentship of the Board of Trade, why or wherefore no one seems exactly to know. Peel has now lost Lord Stanley, and Gladstone in the Commons; and I suppose is to be President of the Board of Trade and Secretary of State for the Colonies, in addition to the other offices of which he does the business in the House of Commons.

February 3.—I dined at Lord John Russell's. There was a great deal of merriment, chiefly kept up by Macaulay's stories of Joe Hume and his h's, but not a word of politics or arrangements publicly talked of.

February 4.—House of Commons. The attendance was small on both sides of the House, and I

1845. think there was less interest attached to the debate than I almost ever recollect on the first day of the Session.

Gladstone made his explanation, which, although it was not quite what Mr. Plumptre afterwards called it, unintelligible, was not well done.[1] It was too long, and he dwelt too much on his own book and the opinions which made it expedient for him to be quite unfettered and independent when he came to discuss the Ministerial scheme of Irish education, which scheme, however, he said he was not fully acquainted with.

February 13.—I saw Macaulay to-day, who said, "I have heard of the infantry keeping back the cavalry in a march, but never of the cavalry going slower than the infantry. It is clear that, so long as our Lords are afraid of Brougham and Stanley, we shall have nothing done in our House." He added that F. Baring had whispered to him that in 1841 the Whigs had ceased to be Ministers, and that now they had ceased to be an Opposition.

February 14.—Went to the House of Commons. Heard Sir Robert Peel's financial statement. He spoke more than three hours, and I thought was unnecessarily prolix and diffuse.

Peel carries his caution even into his pronunciation of words. He made revĕnue short at the

[1] On January 28 Mr. Gladstone resigned his office as President of the Board of Trade, owing to his disapproval of proposed increase of Maynooth Grant.

beginning of one of his sentences, and long, revēnue, at the end of it. He was so insufferably tedious in his introduction to the Abolition of the Auction Duty that at last many voices exclaimed: "What is it? What tax is it?" and he got angry. 1845.

February 15.—Went to a meeting of subscribers to the Byron monument at Mr. Murray's, when the proposal was unanimously adopted that the statue should be placed in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Clarendon told me a strange story of Lord Wharncliffe, viz. that he was under the gallery of the House of Commons the night of Peel's financial statement, and made a running comment on it, so loud as to be overheard, of this sort: "That is not so—that is a lie—that is another lie —just like him," etc.

February 16.—Dined at Lady Holland's. Lord Lansdowne, Macaulay, Lord Clarendon, Mr. and Mrs. Ord, etc. Lady Holland was very indignant with Brougham for having, in an article of the *Law Magazine* for this month on Lord Eldon, said that Mr. Fox had accepted a mission under Mr. Pitt in his Administration of 1804. Lord Lansdowne said he was sure it was not true, although it was certain that Mr. Pitt wished to bring Mr. Fox into office at that time; but the King objected to Mr. Fox, and his friends would not serve without him.

Lord Lansdowne told us that he was one day

1845. walking in St. James's Park, near the Horse-Guards, and saw Mr. Fox and Mr. Grey going towards Downing Street. They stopped him and told him they were going to Mr. Pitt to communicate to him a message sent by the Emperor of Russia to Mr. Fox, which had for its object a closer alliance with England. Perhaps this may have been the foundation of Brougham's fiction.

February 23.—Lord Lansdowne called and told me that Sydney Smith died last night, in his seventy-third or seventy-fourth year.

I dined at Lady Holland's—for once a stupid party. Lady Holland told me that Goulburn (our Chancellor of the Exchequer) in early days was intimate with Baron James Parke, and, knowing his slender means, offered him assistance to the amount of £1,000 a year! to be paid if Parke should be fortunate in his profession. Parke refused. He told this himself to Lady Holland.

I sat next to deaf Lady Georgina Romilly, and, being hard of hearing myself, and Fox Maule, very deaf, being another of the party, and Sam Rogers, who is still more deaf, being another, our conversation was a sad *hash* of blunders. Our hostess was evidently much depressed by the death of Sydney Smith, which no one alluded to once.

March 5.—Dined at the Palace. Everything ordered much as in the old days, except that

we sat much longer at table after the Queen had left the room, in consequence of the Duke of Richmond engaging Prince Albert in a long talk. 1845.

Prince Albert talked to Sir George Cockburn and myself for a long time. H.R.H. seems to understand, or at least to study, naval architecture. Indeed, his whole conversation is far superior to that of young men of high rank in general.

I had a long talk with Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst. He was most good-natured, as usual, and told me he was alive. He said some of his correspondents had gone off lately — Wynford Gurney, etc. I said they were not Lord Chancellors, and as long as he had the great Seal he would do very well. He replied, with a smile, he believed so, and that the Government were good for the Parliament. He added that Peel was the best man for us—a Liberal-Conservative—able to carry our measures, which we could not do. He introduced me to his wife.[1]

March 6.—I met Ellenborough this day in Park Street, St. James's. He stopped me and offered his hand, which I accepted, as why should I not? I complimented him on his looks, and he told me he was well now, but began to feel the Calcutta heats, and could not have stayed much longer in India. He seemed in gay good humour with himself, and perhaps with me; for, to say the

[1] Georgiana, daughter of Lewis Goldsmith, Esq.

1845. truth, I never behaved very handsomely to him.

March 17.—Dined at the Raleigh Club. Murchison told us the book[1] about which so much has lately been said—"Vestiges of Creation" —was full of blunders. The author of the work is unknown. Some strongly attribute it to Lady Lovelace—Ada Byron.

April 11.—At House of Commons. I heard Gladstone speaking and supporting the Maynooth Grant in a strange speech that went the full length of justifying any change of opinion and supporting any grant for any sect. Why the duce did he quit the Cabinet? Every one asks this. Peel was very pleased when Gladstone said he would vote for the Bill, but did not applaud his subsequent speech. Arundel also spoke strongly in favour of the Grant, and praised Peel so warmly that Peel raised his hat to the compliment, an unusual acknowledgment from him.

Disraeli was now called for, and the Speaker selected him out of five or six on the Ministerial side. He made a most bitter speech against Peel, evidently prepared verbatim, and so contrived as to wound him in the most sensitive and assailable points of his character. Peel hung his head down, changing colour and drawing his hat over his eyes, and Graham grinned a sort of compelled

[1] The book was written by Robert Chambers, the publisher, 1802–71.

smile, and looked a good deal at me, who happened to be just opposite, to see how we took the attack. Our front row was well-behaved, but Russell, and Palmerston, and George Grey, whispered to me, "It is all true," and even Ellice laughed, and Macaulay looked happy. The speech was listened to with profound attention, and spoken without the slightest hesitation or reference to notes. 1845.

April 12. — Went to Lady Palmerston's Assembly. People full of debate. Lords Mahon and John Manners spoke slightly of Gladstone's speech. There is a general impression that Peel cannot go on much longer. At present he is kept in entirely by the Opposition. Dan O'Connell cheers him, praises him to the skies, and says he (Peel) will carry the repeal of the Union *yet*. Comparing him, however, to a spinning tee-to-tum—no one knows on what letter he will stop.

April 13.—Dined at Lady Holland's. She was in bad spirits on account of a fall which Lord Melbourne had had that afternoon, which might have been dangerous; but she recovered herself after dinner. Lady Tankerville mentioned that she was going to Paris by the *diligence* from Boulogne to Paris. Lady Holland remarked on the superior God-send to the French that admits of a fine lady travelling in this way.

April 18.—House of Commons. Heard that Sheil had been just making a very injudicious attack on the Dissenters for opposing the Bill.

1845. The debate would have been again adjourned if Duncombe had not followed Law in a very smart speech defending the Dissenters against Sheil, and denouncing the Grant as against all principle, and at the same time paltry and insulting. Lord J. Russell thought he ought to speak, and gave us one of the very best speeches I ever heard him make, with a tone of a moderator and a master, like the head not only of a party but of the House, which in the present state of the Ministers he has a right to assume. He did not taunt Peel with inconsistency, neither did he give him any superfluous praise. He assumed a lofty but not offensive tone in regard to the strong feeling of the country and of the Dissenters, his friends, against the measure, and declared his resolution to vote for that and all similar measures. He was greatly cheered, Peel and the Ministers joining in the applause, and I scarcely recollect a more general sentiment of admiration than that expressed on this occasion.

Peel got up about two o'clock and spoke an hour. The first part of his speech was good, and the general tone good. He alluded more than once to the probability of a change of Administration, and, confessing that it was more natural that such measures should be introduced by those who had always advocated them, said that he should be found by the side of his successors when proposing similar measures.

April 19.—The *Times* of this day proclaims

the *end* of Conservatism. It has had some remarkable articles lately against Peel, and praising Macaulay's character of him, probably by Disraeli, who said to me, "I am glad Macaulay has taken up my line." 1845.

April 23. — House of Commons. Found Macaulay speaking, but I think there was no necessity for his reviving the attack on Peel's inconsistency, which he did with great effect. Russell insisted on speaking, and declared roundly that he was prepared to defend every word uttered by Macaulay in regard to the inconsistency of Peel, and would show that the Ministers were either the most imbecile or the most insincere of politicians.

I suppose Russell felt he ought to stand by Macaulay, but I confess I was sorry he departed from the tone and line adopted by him on the last debate, which has produced a great effect, not only here but in France, where the conduct of Peel and his Whig supporters is said to be above all praise. The *Débats* quotes Russell's "paroles admirables," on that occasion, and points out the imposing spectacle presented by the British Parliament, where rival parties unite for a great object, to the sacrifice of all private interest and political jealousies. Peel felt or looked much annoyed at Russell's speech, as he had just contrasted Russell's conduct with Macaulay's.

April 25.—To-day at twelve there was a meeting

1845. at Lord John Russell's. Russell read to us his proposed resolutions in regard to the condition of the labouring classes, and the best modes of improving it, of which he had given notice last session. His remedies were, repeal of Corn and Poor-laws, emigration, and education.

Labouchere said he did not think the labouring classes worse off, comparatively with other classes, than they used to be. What Labouchere said produced a great effect. Ellice and Palmerston agreed with him, and by degrees the opinion seemed so general that I almost thought if Russell had not announced his motion he would not have brought it forward. He altered the first resolution, however, saying that the present tranquillity and consequent prosperity of the country afforded a fitting time for considering the question, etc.

May 9.—Read in the park, instead of going to hear Sir James Graham's new *play* for academical education in Ireland, which was generally approved, though Inglis called it "a gigantic scheme of Godless education."

May 11.—I dined at Lady Holland's. Lord Alvanley, the Shelburnes, my old friend Count Flahault, Macaulay, Duke and Duchess of Bedford there.

Alvanley was amusing, as usual. Lady Holland happened to say that she did not think he was a judge of horses. "Why not?" said he, "my father was a judge!"

We had a dispute as to the precise place of the execution of Charles I. Macaulay contended it was in a sort of courtyard of Whitehall Palace, and not in a street or open space before the Banqueting House. I thought him wrong. If the scaffold stood in an enclosed place, how could it command a view of St. James' Palace, which it was said to do? But right or wrong, I had not much chance with Macaulay. Who has? 1845.

May 14.—I dined with Mr. Vivian. The talk was about the dress for the Queen's Ball in June, which is limited to the period between 1740 and 1750, about the dress of the characters in Hogarth's "Marriage à la mode." A childish frolic of H.M., and the common remark is, "She would not have done it if Lord Melbourne had been near her."

May 23.—I dined at Lord Lovelace's. His wife (Ada) looking ill, and thoughtful, and with a sort of constrained manner, far from pleasant. She weighs her words and speaks deliberately, as if repeating. I had a little talk with her. She told me she did not like her father's statue by Thorwaldsen. Lord Lovelace was agreeable enough. He told me his wife had been suspected of writing "Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation," and said she was a mathematician.

I sat next to Lady Portman at dinner, a charming person. She is still one of the Queen's ladies. She doubts whether H.M. will go to Ireland; indeed, her answer on Wednesday to the Dublin

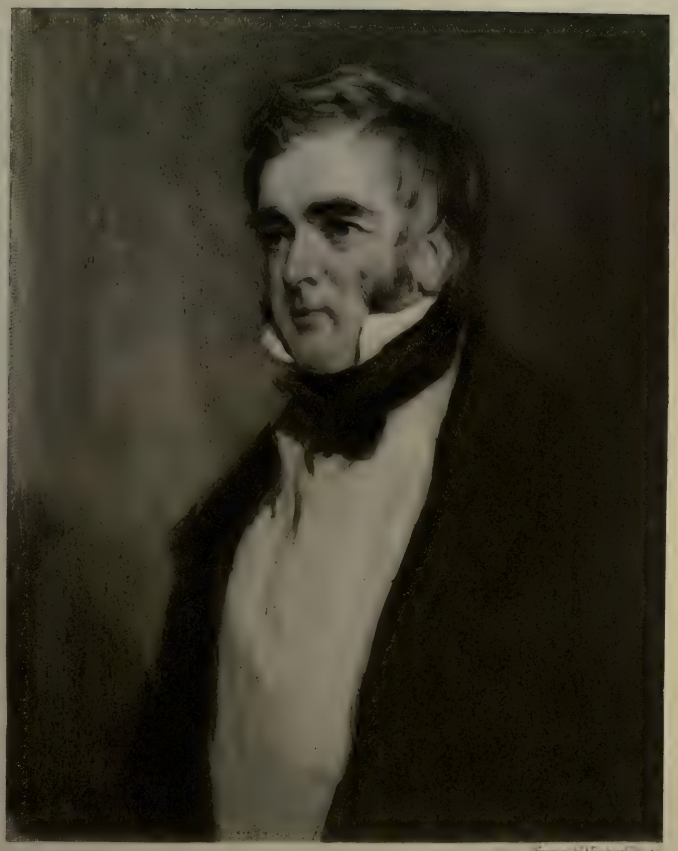
1845. address is not very encouraging. She condemned the Costume Ball, and said what all say, that it would not have been done in Lord Melbourne's time.

She spoke in the highest terms of Lord Melbourne's conduct in the Queen's household, and said that he was most watchful that nothing should be spoken of in her presence that a child of fifteen might not hear. He was respectful, but firm when he wished to stop anything he disapproved, and H.M. bore his mild remonstrances with the most amiable submission. Now she has no such friend, and the scene is altered. She is very civil to Sir Robert Peel; but that is all.

May 26.—At House of Commons Graham made a speech and agreed generally with the position laid down, that Protection was undesirable, and that it ought to be withdrawn gradually as population increased. He mentioned the astounding fact that the population had increased by 380,000. Russell had stated the increase to be only 250,000. Lord Pollington, to the surprise of all, I believe, spoke well and declared himself not so very adverse to Free Trade. Palmerston whispered to me that he was a great improvement on his father.

May 31.—I dined at Sir W. Clay's. Mr. Everett, American Minister, there, Macaulay, and others.

Everett told me Polk was well known in America before he was made President, especially



Viscount Melbourne

from a portrait by Sir Edwin Landseer R.A.
in the possession of the Earl of Rosebery

in his own state and Tennessee. Everett is about to retire into private life. He told me that it would be very disagreeable to be Minister at London without the entire confidence of the President. 1845.

Speaking of the American Union, he said they had many Irelands in their Union, and the life of a politician was far more laborious than in England. It is pretty much so here if a man does his duty.

I had a long conversation with Macaulay. He means to support the Irish Colleges Bill, let Russell do what he will. I told him my objections to his own attack on Peel's inconsistency, and said he had made it a difficult thing to support a Minister so damaged. He defended himself warmly, and said it was necessary to enter that protest against the man whilst supporting the measure, and that we should have to appeal to it hereafter. He thought the contrast between the Ministers and the Whigs just and desirable, and said our party never stood higher. I replied that the facts were so apparent that they needed no comment, especially after such a comment as he had made, and that it is not good policy to diminish the value of your votes by the bitterness of your speeches. He half assented.

Macaulay expressed his great admiration for "Don Quixote." I said I liked it now better than when I was young. He replied, he liked

1845. it when a child, and when a youth, and at present.

June 6.—Dressed in costume of 1740 to 1750, with wig, and went to the Queen's Ball, where all were dressed in suits of that period. A strange, pretty sight, but I thought the dress more becoming to the men than the women. The Ministers, Foreign Ambassadors, Leaders of Opposition—all were in costume. Peel looked rather queer but in good humour; for the first time these many years, we shook hands cordially enough. Graham had a long, curling wig, and seemed half ashamed. Ellenborough had the largest black curling wig in the room. Next to him Lord Aberdeen looked most strange. Goulburn was rather improved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer's wig and robes, and laughed very heartily with me at some of his colleagues. The Queen had a most splendid dress on, but she did not look well; her hair being dragged off her face made her look too red and round. The Duchess of Nemours looked very beautiful. Prince Albert looked well. The Duke of Wellington, in military dress-suit of the period, looked well. I saw the strathspey and minuet danced, not so well as my daughters danced it, and I waited to see the Sir Roger de Coverley in the long gallery, danced by a hundred and fifty couples I should think, H.M. leading. Palmerston, Russell, Lord Lansdowne, were there—we all laughed at one another. M. de Saint-Aulaire and Chevalier Bunsen

looked amongst the most laughable, and did not seem to know whether they ought to laugh themselves or not. I do not think people were sorry to get away. The crowds in the street were very good-humoured and civil, asking us to show our wigs at the windows, which we did. 1845.

June 7.—Dined at S.S.B.S. Lord Saltoun and Sir Charles Napier there. Certainly two of the most desperate fighting men in the world. I could not help looking at them and contrasting their present joviality with their professional pursuits. Napier would talk politics, and push his favourite topic of the certainty of a French invasion should we go to war. I saw Lord Saltoun was annoyed, and called on Hallett for a song. He sang his "Yankee doodle borrows cash," and put all right.

June 9.—I dined with Miss (Burdett) Coutts, and met Tom Moore, Sam Rogers, Lady Davy, Babbage, Dr. and Mrs. Brown, and another doctor.

I have never been in my friend's house before. She supports her station with great propriety and good feeling in every respect, and it is lucky that her vast wealth has fallen into such hands. If her complexion were good she would have a pleasing face. Her figure, though not sufficiently full, is good. Her voice is melodious, her expression sweet and engaging. She did all in her power to make the visit agreeable to me.

There was an assembly after dinner, and Miss

1845. Joanna Burdett was there. I was much pleased to meet with another daughter of my late excellent friend.

June 14.—Dined at Lord J. Russell's. A small party, Lady Holland, etc.

J. Russell told us that the Bishop of London said to Lord Melbourne he should undoubtedly prefer Dr. Arnold for an instructor to his son to any other man, but he did not dare to send him to a person of principles so decried. This Russell characterised as very base to feel and to confess. I think so, but Arnold was not thought so much of in his lifetime as he is now.

June 15.—I had a party to dine with me, amongst whom were Lord and Lady Lovelace. Lady Lovelace, though rather fantastic, was amiable and interesting in manner, as several of my guests observed. She certainly reminded me much of her father's expression, especially the upper part of her face. She looked a great deal at her father's bust, and appeared affected by it. When going away, she thanked me for giving her an opportunity of seeing it.

June 16.—O'Connell was at the House of Commons to-night. There was a crowd outside to welcome him. He spoke against the Irish College Act strongly. He appears more powerful in Ireland than ever, and denounces Peel and Russell, Tories and Whigs and Radicals, all alike.

June 21.—I went to Lady Holland's, where was

a party. I cannot get rid of my shyness at entering or going away from a room full or half-full of company; and any man, and much more woman, can disconcert me at once by a cold or equivocal look just as much as when I was twenty. In fact, I have neither the air nor the spirit of society, for I want that self-confidence without which complete social tact is unattainable. This deficiency makes a man almost always either too reserved or too familiar, either too silent or too talkative, and generally both in the course of the same evening. At least, it makes me so, and neither experience nor good resolution will ever cure me. 1845.

July 10.—I have not noticed the death of Sir W. Follett; he was but forty-seven. I was the first man to congratulate the House, and the country, on his parliamentary début in 1835, and to foretell his future eminence. He never forgot this speech of mine, and did not fail to show me he was mindful of the prophecy.

I have not as yet seen any good account of his short but brilliant career. I have never heard him speak out of the House of Commons. There, in some respects, he was unrivalled; that is, in the line he chose. His fault was that he was not above taking any unfair advantage of his antagonist, *i.e.* he was not a safe man to believe as to facts, nor to follow as to inferences, unless very cleverly watched. He is said to have been very grasping in regard to money; he never returned a brief

1845. because he could not do justice to his client. Sir T. Wilde does this, but who else does so?

July 20.—Lord Grey died last Thursday evening at Howick. He was an extraordinary instance of what may be done by a talent for public speaking, independent of any other intellectual quality of a high order.

August 9.—I went to dine with Mr. Sotheran, and had some talk with him about his late speech, which has made so much noise, and in which he said that the farmers and landlords must prepare for a great change in regard to the Corn-laws, which could not probably last beyond the present Parliament. The *Times* has taken this as a proof that Peel has resolved to repeal the Corn-laws. Sotheran told me that he had no doubt the Corn-laws would soon be abolished, and that it was his duty to warn his constituents, and make them prepared for it.

August 15.—Resolved to make a tour to the Pyrenees with my eldest daughter. We left Berkeley Square on August 29, and did not return until November 9. On the whole our *long short* excursion was an agreeable one.

. . . . .

November 17.—Heard that Lady Holland died yesterday; she was carried off rather suddenly, about seventy-five years old. Michael Bruce tells me she died very tranquilly, and with no apparent change in her opinions about religion; but he

adds, sensibly enough, who shall say what was opinion and what was indifference? 1845.

I had a letter from the Duke of Bedford on the loss of old friends, and the necessity of cherishing those that remain. I thought it too desponding, so far as regarded himself, and told him so; observing that Lord Grey was ten years older than he when he became Prime Minister, and the Duke of Wellington is now twenty years older, and that his friends and his country hope many years of usefulness from him yet, placed as he is in the very foremost ranks of the noblest nation that ever gave laws or lessons to mankind. The Duke is a little younger than I am.

November 25.—I have a letter from the Duke of Bedford thanking me much for my last letter, and saying it has done him good.

December 3.—The *Times* newspaper announced the determination of the Cabinet to repeal the Corn-laws totally. The *Standard* and *Herald* denied it at first faintly, and then positively. We none of us knew what to make of the announcement.

December 11.—The papers contain strange rumours of the Government being in great difficulties.

The *Times* states the prejudices of the Duke of Wellington against the repeal of the Corn-laws had revived, and that in consequence Peel and his colleagues had or would tender their resignations.

1845. *December* 12.—News that Peel had resigned, and that Lord John Russell was at Osborne House with the Queen. The papers formally announce the resignation of the Government, and that Russell had been sent for. It appears that Lord John arrived at Osborne House yesterday, Thursday, in the afternoon.

I wrote to David Baillie telling him I did not understand how it would be possible for Russell to carry on the Government unless Peel declared decidedly for him; and even then, what could be done in the Lords?

December 13.—It now appeared that Peel had resigned on this day week, and Russell was sent for immediately. The decision to repeal the Corn-laws does not seem to have ever been determined upon, and yet it is difficult to believe that the *Times* was altogether duped. That paper now abuses all parties—Peel, the Whigs, the landed gentry, all except Lord Aberdeen. A list of a probable Cabinet is handed about, but I still have my doubts of any Whig Government being now attempted.

December 14.—I hear from C. Morris that people begin to be alarmed, thinking the resistance of the Lords to the Repeal of the Corn-laws may bring about a convulsion. I see no sign of any such thing here.

December 15.—I had a letter from Lord John Russell begging me to come to a meeting at his house. Met Mr. Fassell, the Warminster

solicitor, who told me all were busy in preparing for a General Election, and that the Corn-laws were doomed. On my return found a letter from Lord Lansdowne, saying that unless he saw his way more clearly than at present, on two or three points, he should have nothing to do with the Administration. 1845.

December 19.—Lord John Russell thought himself compelled, by the obstinacy of Lord Grey and the weakness of Lord Lansdowne, to abandon the Government.

December 22.—There is an article in the *Times* exposing Lord Grey's conduct, but not quite accurate as to facts. He did not object to sit at the same board with Palmerston, but only to Palmerston's being Foreign Secretary. I rather began to suspect that this was not the real reason, but that he was angry at Charles Wood not having a seat in the Cabinet.

December 30.—Edward Ellice and Michael Bruce staying with me at Erle Stoke. Ellice showed us a letter he had received from Lady John Russell, conveying her warmest thanks to him for the kind assistance he had afforded to Lord John during the late crisis, which she said Russell duly appreciated. The letter was very beautifully written, I must say. She expressed her gratitude for Lord John, or John, as she called him, being restored to her, though she could not help regretting his failure. She said they lived happily, very happily together, but

1845. she felt he was suited for great public exertions, and did not wish her private comfort should be secured to the injury of the nation, or the diminution of his fame.

Lady John is not very wise to write so confidentially to a man who shows her letters to any one who happens to be near him; for not only I but Bruce read this letter.

CHAPTER XIII

January 1.—Erle Stoke. Lord Auckland and Miss Frances Eden came to me. I had a great deal of talk with Lord Auckland on various matters. He said that Lord Minto was not a popular First Lord of the Admiralty, and was much condemned for employing his own relations on commands for which they were totally unfit, *e.g.* the Elliots in China. 1846.

January 18.—Went to Woburn Abbey. I had some talk with the Duke on late affairs. He told me that Peel made a scene at Windsor when he consented to return to power, and devoted himself magnanimously to the service of the Queen, who was much affected by Lord John's retirement, and was pleased with Peel's promptitude. The Duke told me he had this from his brother, Wroithsley, one of the court chaplains.

The Duke showed me a letter from the Duke of Rutland, who tells him that he is waiting to see what Peel's measure will be, but that as to the state of the country Peel has not a peg to hang his charges on. Indeed, every one here, Lord Bessborough, Clarendon, etc., says that there is no appearance of distress or likelihood of it either

1846. in England or Ireland; so much so that the rumour now is there will be little or no change in the Corn-laws, but that seems impossible after Peel's resignation and his engagements to support Lord John to a specific extent, in his repeal of those laws.

I had a long conversation with Lord Clarendon, who told me the real cause of the late break-up was a letter from Lady John in which she told her husband she should not live, and this, added to Russell's not having slept for three nights, unnerved him and he gave up. Comparing this with what the Duke told me of the poor woman's other letters, it is not improbable she may have written both, and if she wished the last to produce a real effect she could not have adopted a surer course.

January 20.—Lord Cottenham and I had a long conversation which gave me a higher opinion than ever of this very superior man. He seemed to think the predilection or probabilities in favour of Lord John Russell being called upon soon to form a Government, and he thought, with adequate spirit on the part of our friends in the Lords, the Whigs might be able to carry such measures as they contemplated, and, if they maintained power only for a short time, would still be of great service to the public.

January 21.—I went to Lord Palmerston's small party. Lord Ponsonby told me he was present at the duel between Pitt and Tierney

He said Tierney did fire at Pitt, who, the second time, fired in the air, to the great danger of the spectators. Lord Harrowby had brought balls too large for Pitt's pistols, and was obliged to pare down the balls before he could load the pistols. 1846.

January 22.—Read Queen's Speech, which some people thought proved sufficiently that Peel resolved to go all lengths in regard to Corn-laws, though it only declared in favour of going further towards Free Trade than he had gone.

I walked about with Ellice, who says we are coming on revolutionary times because there is no party strong enough of itself to govern the country.

House of Commons. Peel made a long speech of near two hours. He confessed his opinions had undergone a change as to Corn-laws, but confined the events which had caused the change to the three last years, and then stated his versions at large and in detail, all of them used by anti-Corn-law leagues.

The latter part of his speech was a personal defence, a proof of his being a true Conservative Minister, by reference to all he had done, from the *infusing a new spirit into our Indian army!* to the putting down agitation—the one about as true as the other. He concluded by a long peroration about his having served four Sovereigns and having sought for no reward but their approbation of his services, and of his being

1846. under no obligations to his or any party, but being free and resolved to act solely upon the strength of his own honest cautions for the benefit of the country. It seemed clear that he was resolved to go all lengths in regard to the Corn-laws.

Lord John Russell then spoke. He made no remark on Peel's conduct, but merely said that he and his party had never had fair play as those formerly in power.

Disraeli made one of *his* speeches, a great deal of it very true as regarded Peel's character and conduct. He very happily ridiculed Peel's proclaimed love of fame and appeal to posterity, and called his cabinet followers three imps of fame. Peel and Graham, too, looked much distressed.

January 23.—I see there was a curious scene in the Lords. The Duke of Wellington, being called on for an explanation of late events, said he had not the Queen's permission to disclose the secrets of the Cabinet.

Lord Bessborough told me the Duke of Wellington was very angry, also that there was great cheering when the Duke of Richmond attacked the Government, and that the general complexion of the Peers was such as to induce him to think Peel will be beaten in that House.

House of Commons. Williams of Coventry complimented Peel for some arrangement which in fact was made by Russell, but when Peel

spoke he pocketed the compliment very quietly. 1846.
Russell said to me, "That is always the way, our people give Peel credit for everything, and he never refuses to accept it, though he knows it does not belong to him."

January 25.—I met Fonblanque yesterday. He said, "If the Whigs do not mind what they are about, they will be Ministers again in two months." Something like what Scrope Davies said to Henry Cavendish, who carried his arm in a sling for a slight hurt received in Spain, "If you do not take care of that wound it will get well."

I dined at Lord Palmerston's. To my great surprise, Lord Brougham made one of the party. The latter exceedingly cordial, and as usual agreeable, rattling away on the late conversions of Cabinet Ministers, etc. He said that Peel had told him, a day or two ago, that those who were now most opposed to him would ere long be convinced of the frightful distress which would press upon the people, and particularly in Ireland.

Lord and Lady Douro have been staying with Brougham at Cannes. Lord Douro told Brougham that his father told him two years ago that the Corn-laws were damned. Says Brougham: "But he never told me."

January 26.—Went to the House of Lords to hear the Duke of Wellington's explanation. He excused his coming back to office without any

1846. change of opinion upon the ground that the Queen had a right to his services, and that the formation of a Government under the late circumstances was of more importance than his private opinions on Corn-laws or any other law, and that therefore he had consented to stand by Sir Robert Peel in his proposed change of the Corn-laws. What that change was to be he did not tell; he said positively it would be satisfactory to their Lordships and the landed interest, and would be accompanied by compensation. If the Duke's excuse is worth anything it would go to the support of any Government or any Ministerial measure, however unconstitutional or unprincipled. Such language would not be borne for an instant except from him; but, coming from him, it serves to protect, not only him, but all his colleagues who are in the same predicament.

January 27.—The House of Commons was crowded in all parts, and, for the first time, Prince Albert was under the gallery with the Duke of Cambridge and Lord Jersey. Peel spoke, in all, three hours and twenty minutes. His statement was clear and plain, without any rhetorical flourishes or personal appeals.

Amongst other things, he said the Corn-laws were to be abolished altogether in three years, but in the meantime a small duty adjusted on the sliding-scale principle was to be levied on all foreign grain. The great measure, the total Repeal of the Corn-laws, was secured. We

therefore cheered when Peel sat down, but not very heartily. 1846.

January 28.—I dined at Lord Auckland's. Lord John Russell, Lord Melbourne, Lord de Mauley, and Lady Stanley the party. Poor Lord Melbourne was a melancholy sight, depressed and evidently conscious of some imminent calamity; he spoke but little. I sat next to him. He said Peel's compensation was no compensation at all. Lady Stanley told me she had heard Peel was very nervous when speaking, and thought once or twice his own people were laughing at him.

It seems the Protectionists now give out that Peel is a coward. The scheme of last night has, they say, reconciled some of those who had resolved to resign to stay in office, yet why I cannot imagine.

February 7.—Dined with the Speaker. After dinner I had some talk with Lord John Russell and Palmerston, and learned that the general meeting of the party at Russell's this day had gone off very well, that Russell had told them, however he might be inclined to support an amendment for *immediate* repeal of the Corn-laws, yet he could not do so if he endangered Sir Robert Peel's measure—a sentiment which was universally approved.

February 8.—I read up my news of last week, and looked over some of the things published to show the inconsistency of Peel and Graham, particularly what they said in opposing the

1846. motion for a committee on Corn-laws in 1839. Certainly their conversion is more miraculous than any that has happened since the days of St. Paul. It must be confessed Peel cannot have had a bad motive for his change. All his interests, all his connections, must have been against it; nothing but sincere conviction could have produced it. The grave charge against him is, I think, that he could not have been sincere when he supported Protection, but did so for mere party purposes and a love of power.

February 16.—I went to the House of Commons and heard Sir Robert Peel make his promised speech. It was certainly a great effort, and I went across the House and told Sir George Clerk and others on the Treasury Bench what I thought of it. Clerk said, "Come and tell him so." I replied, "No, do you tell him"; on which Sir George said, "D——, he would turn [or kick] me away if I dared to speak to him." This, whether said in joke or half earnest, does not speak much in favour of the Premier. A man who will not accept a civil or complimentary truth from a subaltern is but a sulky fellow after all. There is nothing of true dignity or proper pride in such reserve.

February 21.—I went to the Speaker's Levée. Went up and shook hands with the Speaker and Sir Robert. They were talking of the prolonged debate, and the Speaker said it degraded the House to a speaking club. Peel said it was to be re-

gretted, but did not know what was to be done. 1846.
I said that the *new* Opposition were waiting for fresh members. Peel, at this, drew up as if he had been too familiar, and at once changed the subject to Lord Byron's statue at Cambridge. I took the opportunity of asking after his health, which he said was very good, and again looked reserved.

February 21.—Count Pahlen told me that Lord Aberdeen had positively assured him that Peel has no intention of resigning after he has carried the Corn-law repeal. On the contrary, he is determined to persevere to the last, and not quit his post unless compelled by a vote of Parliament.

March 7.—Dined at Lord Dacre's. Dr. Holland and his wife and most beautiful daughter, Ellice, Lady Morley, and two or three more of the party.

Dr. Holland told us he had made a tour in the United States last autumn, and was only two months abroad, but saw almost everything worth seeing. He described the civility of everybody, from the President downwards, as most striking and in every way agreeable. Ellice, who knows America, confirmed this account.

I went to an assembly at Lady Palmerston's —a penance for me, but she has asked me to all her Wednesday and Sunday parties, and I have never been once, so I must go; indeed, she reminded me of my absence. I confess,

1846. however, were it not for my daughters, I should never go to an evening party again.

March 21.—Dined at S.S.B.S. Charles Taylor, the actor, there, in his seventieth year, a pleasing, civil man, who sang with the voice of youth and imitated some of the old actors.

March 22.—I have read this week Burton's new work, "Life and Correspondence of David Hume."[1] One reflection I made. If a man has genius he may do a great deal in a little time; if he has none he must be content to do a little in a great deal of time. Most men do nothing at all, whether they labour or not.

March 25.—Dined at Kensington Palace with the Duchess of Inverness. Lord Bessborough and myself the only men. Bessborough complained of the difficulties into which Ministers had brought our party by their Irish Coercion Bill, and of the differences between him and Russell on the subject. He lamented Russell's manners to the party, and said even he had some difficulty in dealing with him.

April 4.—Went to Lady Palmerston's, and had some talk with B. Disraeli, and Lord Orford. Their Lordships, it seems, will pass the Corn Bill by a majority of twenty-five.

"Dizzy" said something, not over-flattering, of our Whigs, and, commenting on my remark that my fear was that Peel, having broken up his own

[1] "Life and Correspondence of David Hume," by John Hill Burton, 2 vols., 1846.

party, would break up ours, said, "That you may depend upon it he will, or any other party that he has anything to do with." 1846.

April 8.—I dined with Mr. Harcourt. He said he knew no remedy for Ireland's grievances, she having two millions of beggars too many. He is a very amusing man.

April 29.—Met Brougham, who stopped and talked to me, chiefly about Palmerston's visit to Paris this Easter.

He said that Louis Philippe and Guizot, though civil, were not more so than to any other stranger of distinction, and that Louis Philippe complained of Palmerston coming at a time when the attentions of the Court and Ministers to him might be made use of at the approaching elections to add to the French anti-Anglais.

Brougham said that Guizot told him so, and also that he added that none of the Ministers would accept invitations to meet Palmerston at any third place.

Brougham told me that he had played off a little harmless pleasantry on Lady Palmerston, by telling her she would see at the Tuileries a sight she ought to remark: a large vase, which an officer of the household would uncover and dip a magnificent ladle into it, and pour something from it into certain plates which would be distributed to the company.

Lady Palmerston did not (so Brougham says) see the jest until she was eating her soup. It

1846. lies in the saying that the Palmerstons never in their lives came in time for the soup.

I passed a most amusing ten minutes with this extraordinary man, and the pleasure will have been much greater if I had known what and how much to believe of his stories.

Disraeli passed in a carriage. "There," said Brougham, "goes the greatest blackguard in England." But he said Disraeli had behaved well when Colonel Peel insulted him on Friday night last, for he sent Lord George Bentinck to him, and the Colonel made an apology.

May 6.—Dined at Lord Ashburton's. Met Sir Thomas Wilde and his bride Mademoiselle D'Este, etc.

I handed in Lady Wilde, and had the good fortune to sit next her. She was as agreeable as ever. She told me her husband had brought her into quite a new society, and she liked the lawyers, but not their wives. She told me she liked Sir Robert Peel, even as a companion, very much. He was an excellent husband, and father, and friend, and although so shy as to have had bad manners, was still very agreeable. I never have heard so much said for Sir Robert before.

After dinner in the drawing-room, Lady Ashburton and Lady Wilde and I got together.

Lady Ashburton said she thought Lady Holland had much more feeling and real kindness than Lord Holland. She showed me a mourning-

ring which Lady Holland left to Lord Ash- 1846.
burton.

Lady Ashburton made an unlucky hit: speaking of Foscolo, she repeated a speech of his. He was lamenting his passion for an English lady who would not marry a poor man, and added: "Ah, in England Love is an Attorney." Lady Wilde, to whom the story was addressed, smiled but said nothing. I had half a mind to whisper, "Yes, an Attorney-General."

May 7.—I met the Duke and Duchess of Bedford. He got out of the carriage and walked with me some time. The upshot of his talk was that in all probability the Lords, when in Committee, would substitute a fixed duty for Peel's repeal. He said Lord John had made up his mind to go with Peel, and that the only question now was, whether he should announce it on the third reading.

He said Lord Melbourne praised Lord John for never taking anybody's advice, for if he had he would never have done anything.

Lord Melbourne votes for the Bill to please the Queen, or as the Duke of Bedford said to me, "I suppose you know why," and two-thirds of the House of Lords vote to please the Duke, who has been very incautious in his private language against the measure and its author.

May 9.—Met Brougham. As we were talking at Lord Jersey's door a lady stepped out of a carriage, and he kissed hands to her and said,

1846. "It is Clemmy, the nicest creature, both in body and mind, in all London," meaning Lady Clementina Villiers. He went into the house after her.

I met the Duke of Buckingham, who confessed he thought Peel had brought the country into a state out of which he saw no salutary escape. This is the common language now. The Duke of Richmond held the same language to me before, and when I reminded him I had foretold Peel would Repeal the Corn-law, added, "Aye, you knew him better than we did."

May 15.—House of Commons. Disraeli speaking against the Corn Bill. His arguments were the old ones, well put. His conclusion for a good twenty minutes was a steady philippic against Peel, which was very powerful indeed, and produced a great effect on all parts of the House. Peel looked miserable, and his brother Jonathan more wretched still, and bursting with mortification; even Macaulay told me he thought the effect very powerful, and the speech the best Disraeli ever made. Russell, who followed, was unable to go on for some time on account of the prolonged cheering.

Peel got up after Russell, and talked in terms of ill-affected contempt of Disraeli, more than hinting he had been a candidate for office in 1841, and saying, truly enough, that if Disraeli had thought so badly of all Peel's career, why did he support him up to 1844. However, Peel

spoke in a manner not usual with him, and on one occasion was completely put out by a cheer which conveyed no obscure hint of disbelief in his honour both personal and political. He stopped, looked round, and stopped again, then seemed to try to speak, but was choked, and his eyes full of tears. At last he faltered out: "The honourable gentlemen have succeeded," and, after a pause resumed with, "I was going to observe." I never saw Peel *beat* before, and much as I dislike him and disapprove his conduct, I felt much distressed, and so did others of our front opposite to him. However, he went on tolerably well afterwards, though in a lower tone than usual. He made no allusion to Russell's reproof of his having kept back his opinions too long, nor did he say a single civil thing of our party. On the whole the speech was a failure, though much cheered by our friends when he sat down. 1846.

Disraeli got up and explained what had occurred in regard to himself in 1841. He said a friend of Peel's had called on him and asked him if he would take office; but he had never asked for office, nor had any communication with Peel about it. Peel reiterated what he had said, that Disraeli had no objection to office in 1841 under him, who he now said had always been a dishonest politician, and so the matter ended. Disraeli had better not have spoken.

We divided at last. Peel spoke to us in the lobby: "I take the liberty to remind you that

1846. we may have a second division on the passing of the Bill." Russell was rather the man to take that liberty, for Peel had only about 107 out of our 327. It was said our majority was about 100, but it was 98, *i.e.* 327 to 229. There was great cheering when the numbers were announced, and more when the Bill passed without a division.

The Protection Parliament has voted and passed, by a great majority, the total repeal of the Corn-laws! No living soul could have done this but Peel, and I am not surprised at the increasing rage of the Protectionists. They appear more angry than ever.

May 22.—There was a great Protectionist Meeting of Tenant Farmers, Lords, and M.P.'s at Willis's Rooms, so great that the Meeting divided, and the Duke of Richmond presided over one room, and the Duke of Buckingham the other. They swore eternal hostility to the Corn Bill, and Lord Stanley was announced the leader of the Opposition with great triumph. I heard that the Bill would be thrown out somehow or the other, but not a soul appeared able to guess at any probable result. No Protection Government could be formed, and though Russell could easily form a Government, how could he stand? But that Peel must retire, all say is certain. In the meantime the famine in Ireland is only coming, not come; and here everything prospers, although all complain.

May 23.—Lord Strafford told me at Brooks's 1846
he had just come from the Peers' Meeting at Lansdowne House, and that all had gone off admirably; that is, all who spoke declared they would give no vote to endanger the measure.

Lord Melbourne expressed himself in the strongest terms against Peel, saying, "Peel had disgraced himself to all eternity, and he hoped their Lordships would take care not to do the same," or some such phrase. The conclusion from this unanimity was that the Bill would pass, a great change from yesterday.

Dined at Lord Palmerston's. He said to me before dinner: "Well, you have heard how the meeting at Lansdowne House went off. All unanimous against the Bill, and all unanimous not to oppose it. Even Lord Grey was for a fixed duty; but, like the rest, intended to stand by the Bill."

Lord Clanricarde and Clarendon and Normanby and others confirmed this to me, and when I said to one of them that I thought the House of Lords would dishonour itself by such acquiescence, he said, "Certainly, but what could we do? Lord John Russell told us that if we took any other line we should break up the party."

May 26.—Dined at Sir Roderick Murchison's. Lady Morgan came in the evening. Count D'Orsay, who was amongst the guests, told me that in Italy he recollected her averse from going into public for fear of making too

1846. much sensation! Ridiculous enough, and yet I remember well when she had a reputation.

May 29.—The second reading of the Corn Importation Bill was carried in the Lords by forty-seven. The Duke of Wellington closed the debate by a strange speech, calling on the Lords to accede to the measure because the other two branches of the Legislature had adopted it. He confessed he did not much like the Bill, but he did not at all regret what he had done; he would do it over again. If their Lordships did not pass this Bill, they would have to pass a similar one.

There was an attempt to cheer the Duke when he mounted his horse to ride home, but he asked the people to let him go home quietly without frightening his horse. I met Lord Ponsonby, who said, "I suppose you won't speak to me; I voted against the Bill."

May 30.—At Brooks's I had a good deal of gossip. Ellice told me that if Peel really did stay in office after his Corn Bill had passed he would abuse the said Peel more than anybody, but he could not believe Peel would do any such thing. Indeed, he knew that the Queen had told Louis Philippe that Peel would retire immediately. How could friend Ellice know all this?

I had a dinner-party. Lady Zetland told me some singular stories of Lady Noel Byron, and of the things said by her mother and governess, Mrs. Clermont, of my friend's treatment of his

wife, of which I did not believe one word, though I dare say Byron's language was very unguarded at that time. Lady Zetland's mother, Lady Williamson, was very intimate with Lady Noel. 1846.

June 3.—Dined at Lord Lovelace's. I sat next to Lady Lovelace at dinner. Poor thing! she is looking very ill indeed, and from what she told I should fear the worst consequences. She spoke to me very freely on subjects which few men, and scarcely any women, venture to touch upon, *e.g.* she remarked that the common argument in favour of a future state, deduced from—

> "The pleasing hope, the fond desire,
> The longing after immortality"—

was evidently worth nothing, for man entertains such hopes and expectations about things material which never happen: riches, power, and many other attainments are looked forward to as all but certain by thousands who never reach them, but feed their hopes with them to the last. I told Lady Lovelace that this had often struck me in reference to Addison's famous soliloquy, but I had never before had the remark made to me. She said she would not say so much to any one, except very privately, nor would she run the risk of depriving any human being of the consolations of belief. Her own impressions were only doubts, and she thought it as presumptuous to be certain one way as another. This conversation was à propos of something said by Mr. Colman,

1846. an American, about his fellow-countrymen, who according to him had too much religion and too much politics in their talk and daily habits.

Lady Lovelace and her husband seem much attached to each other, but I fear their happiness, if happy they are, will soon be at an end.

June 6.—I dined at Devonshire House, a sort of state banquet for the party, or rather the party in the Lords, for, excepting Lord John Russell and young Leveson and Sir E. L. Bulwer-Lytton and myself, I do not believe there was a Commoner present, and of thirty-six or thirty-eight guests, ladies and gentlemen, Bulwer and I walked to dinner the last. It was a grand affair indeed—like the Guildhall or Palace feast, equally fine and tiresome, and in the evening there was a ball with all the great folks and their wives and daughters. The Duke, for some reason or the other, must have reckoned to have this great Whig dinner at this particular time, for there was not a Conservative present at the dinner.

June 8.—House of Commons. Lord George Bentinck made a furious attack on the Government, saying he was for kicking out the Irish Coercion Bill and the Ministers together, and ending with a deliberate charge against Peel of having confessed that he had changed his opinion on the Catholic question so early as 1825, although he had refused to join Canning in 1827, because Canning was for the Catholics, and afterwards helped to chase and hunt him to death.

Bentinck said that Peel had declared he could not conceal his opinions without being *base and dishonest*, and he asked whether he was not now convicted, out of his own mouth, of having acted *basely and dishonestly*. These words were repeated two or three times, and John Russell whispered to me, "Is that parliamentary?" 1846.

The effect of the speech, however, was very great and the cheering from the Protectionist benches tremendous. I looked at Peel and thought he bore the attack quietly enough, though I heard that when he rose about some trifling matter at the end of the evening he could scarcely speak.

June 9.—The *Times* and other papers speak of the Government as at an end, but certain of our people, Radicals and Free Traders, talk of supporting Peel.

June 12.—House of Commons. Debate on Irish Coercion Bill continued. Peel spoke, confessing that the Whigs had given his Free Trade measures "disinterested and active support," and that we were at perfect liberty to oppose his Coercion Bill. He then went into a defence of the measure, and showed that crime still continued to justify it. The latter part of his speech was a defence of himself against Lord George Bentinck's attack, which he prefaced by appealing to his previous career of thirty-five years, and asking whether he had ever treated his antagonist discourteously. There were approving cheers

1846. from our benches, except Palmerston, myself, and a few others, who knew the facts: the truth being that, although Peel is not discourteous, he is not fair, and never helps a friend or spares a foe, and, though not daringly rude, is disparaging and sneering, and if he can hurt a man by a hint will not fail to do so.

June 15.—Disraeli made a very powerful speech to-day in defence of Lord George Bentinck's attack on Peel's conduct in regard to the Catholic question and Canning. The whole was exceedingly effective for the time, and Peel was completely knocked down by it. He rose, however, and begged permission to say a few words, asking the House to suspend its judgment.

June 16.—A great deal of excitement caused by Disraeli's speech, which seemed a complete answer to Peel's defence.

June 18.—I heard Peel had given notice that next day he should, on moving the order of the day, give an explanation of his conduct in 1825, 1827, and 1829. The announcement was received with cheers, but what a position for a Prime Minister and a public man of thirty-five years' standing, to be compelled to show, or attempt to show, that he has not told a lie!

June 19.—House of Commons. I thought Peel answered the charges against him successfully. That is, he dealt with what had been said against him so as to show that it did not furnish ground for the inferences of Lord George Bentinck and

Disraeli. I thought he proved there was good reason to believe that the report of the *Mirror of Parliament* and the *Times*, which he showed were identical, was incorrect, and that he did not say *that in* 1825 *he had told Liverpool the time was come something must be done for the Catholics.* 1846.

Lord George Bentinck, nothing daunted, replied, and still persisted in his attack, going again over his proofs, both direct and indirect, and more than hinting that Peel had lied, and that his character was such as to give no weight to his words.

June 20.—Bannerman showed me a passage in the *Edinburgh Review* for March 1829, which gives Peel's words just as quoted by Bentinck. The article was written by Jeffery just after Peel had spoken. I mentioned this to Macaulay, who acknowledged it was a striking circumstance, but that, after all, it only showed that Jeffery had read the misreport in the *Times*. Yet it seems strange that Peel did not think it worth while to contradict a report given in such a paper as the *Times* and in such a review as the *Edinburgh*. Lord Carrington told me that he was in the House of Commons in March 1829 when Peel made his speech, and is positive he did make use of the words quoted by Bentinck. I was in the House too, but I do not recollect the fact.

June 26.—The Speaker returned from the Lords and announced that the Royal assent had been

1846. given to the Corn Bill and the Customs Bill, which passed the Lords last evening.

June 27.—This day I reached the line of life at which Mr. Fox resolved he would retire from public business, but did not live so long by two years. Whoever reads this must pardon the ridicule of the juxtaposition: C. F. Fox and J. C. H.!

June 29.—House of Commons. It was very full in all parts. Peel spoke about an hour, which was at least half too long, and a bad speech in every sense of the word.

His speech was egotistical in the highest degree, and he told us he should leave a name execrated by monopolists, but dear to the humble tenant of the cottage, *who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow*. Peel announced the Queen had sent for Lord John Russell.

July 2.—Went to Lord John Russell's, and found all there who were to compose his Cabinet. Russell began to talk of the arrangements, and asked Macaulay to have his writ moved next day, and he then quietly said to me, "And your writ, Hobhouse, as President of the Board of Control, if you please." This was the first time I had heard of the appointment being decided on.

I wrote letters to Wakefield announcing my acceptance of office, and resolution to stand again for Nottingham. A most perilous enterprise; but, if I am not to retire from public life, this must be done!

July 21.—I dined at Lady Palmerston's, and

met Ibrahim Pasha and his suite. He was very gay and good-humoured, but not at all like what I recollect of the high-bred Turk. His red cap is but a poor substitute for the grand turban of former days, and his scanty grey beard has nothing venerable in it. Sir Charles Napier was at table, making as much noise and drinking as much wine as the Pasha, and Lord Minto said to me it was difficult to tell which was the greatest blackguard of the two. 1846.

July 25.—Went to the christening of the Princess Helena at the Palace. The prettiest part of the show was to see the Queen and Prince Albert walking about with their very pretty children. The Prince of Wales held his father's hand by his middle finger, and walked about very gently with him. Macaulay said to me, "If that boy knew his destiny!" He is pretty, but delicate-looking.

July 28.—Debate on Sugar Duties. Our leader made an admirable speech, and he was much cheered by Graham and Peel, particularly when he said he would not carry on the Government if defeated on this measure; but our majority turned out to be no less than 130. There was no cheering, the triumph was too decisive, besides which Lord George Bentinck had spoken very handsomely of Russell, and declared he did not wish to turn him out; so the Parliament of 1841, the Protection Parliament, has destroyed both the Corn monopoly and the Sugar monopoly, and, having turned out

1846. the Whigs and put in Peel, has turned out Peel and replaced the Whigs.

August 6.—Dined at the Palace. King and Queen of the Belgians, Duchess of Kent, and a crowd of others. Sir George Grey the only other Minister.

When the gentlemen rose to leave the dinner-table, the King of the Belgians stopped to speak to me. He told me I was looking in good health, and when I returned the compliment he said, "Yes, pretty well for a man who has been in the midst of a Ministerial crisis for five months," adding that things make more sensation in small countries than in large. I remarked that "the focus being smaller, the heat was more intense."

H.M. looked much older than when I saw him last, and so did his fair Queen, once so beautiful, but now pinched and worn. I had a long conversation with the Duke of Cambridge, who is not a disagreeable man, though he does chatter and talk very loud. He told me that, of all the speakers he remembered in the Lords, Lord Grey was the most impressive of them. Lord Grenville spoke with great authority. He spoke very highly of Lord Lansdowne, and said the Ministers were very powerful in the Lords. He praised our Chancellor very much indeed.

November 8.—Dined at Henry Stephenson's. He told me the City was much satisfied with the Russell Cabinet, and would return four Liberals.

He strongly advised us to do *nothing* next session. 1846.

November 9.—Went to the Lord Mayor's dinner. On arriving in Cheapside my cabman got out of the line. He tried to cut through a string of carriages, when a gentleman in regimentals put his head out of the one the man was about to get before, and called out that he would make me responsible for the impropriety. I put my head out of my carriage and said, "You are quite right, sir, but as I cannot get to dinner without it, I hope you will excuse my asking you to give me a seat in your carriage." The soft answer put away wrath, and the gentleman assented; so I got out of my own cab and got into his, where he was very civil. I arrived at the Guildhall in very good time, and amused my colleagues with this proof of my presence of mind. There were twelve of the Cabinet, and a most numerous company—eight hundred in the Hall and four hundred in other rooms.

December 30.—Went to Windsor Castle. At dinner the Queen told me to sit next to the Duchess of Kent and her Baroness, an agreeable lady. In the drawing-room the Queen came up and talked to me a great deal of the wretched state of Ireland, about which she had heard that morning from Lord John Russell. She said she saw no remedy for the distress.

December 31.—A large party. The Duke of Cambridge and his family, Lord and Lady

1846. Lincoln, etc. I handed in the Duchess of Sutherland's daughter, a very agreeable young person. The Duke of Cambridge chattered awfully; amongst other things, asked Lord Lincoln if he had ever been in Ireland, to the great amusement of the Queen. When the ladies withdrew I had some talk with Lord Lincoln, who is evidently dissatisfied with our proceedings in Ireland, which he has lately visited.

CHAPTER XIV

January 14.—At our Cabinet to-day Russell read his sketch of the Queen's Speech. Hardly any alterations were made. One was suggested, but Russell said with a smile, "If you please I had rather have it my own way": at which I could not help laughing aloud, as did Russell himself. 1847.

Lord Clarendon had a letter from Brougham in which he said that Providence, who sent the potato disease, meant that many should be starved, and all attempts to prevent the inevitable result were foolish and futile.

February 16.—About three Sir Robert Peel spoke for an hour and a half on the Irish Railways Bill.[1] The first part of his speech was not friendly, and the whole tone of it was civil to Lord George Bentinck and his friends, although he exposed the measure with much ability. Bentinck followed him, and, nothing softened by his complaints, assailed him at once with great violence and rudeness. Indeed, the whole of his two and a half hours' speech was full of incivilities

[1] The second reading of which was moved by Lord George Bentinck on February 12.

1847. to every one who had opposed him. Amongst others he assailed Sir Charles Napier, and said that, though with a sword in his hand no one could surpass him, he was like a fish out of water except when fighting. Even at ship-building he was nothing, for his steam frigate had completely failed, and rolled so in the trough of the sea that the sailors called her "Drunken Charlie." I felt sure this would cause a scene, for Captain Berkeley crossed the House and took Disraeli out, and presently after Bentinck had sat down he went over to Napier. G. Bentinck got up and assured Sir Charles Napier he had not the slightest intention to insult him. He had alluded to "Drunken Charlie" solely with reference to a rolling boat, never having heard that Napier was given to drinking. We all stared at this strange apology, but Sir Charles touched his hat and seemed satisfied.

Our numbers told 322, but we were in fact 332, and had 214 majority. There was no cheering, but a loud, hoarse laugh.

February 25.—Went to Cambridge and saw the Byron statue in Trinity College Library. It is a beautiful work of art, and is in an admirable position. Little did he or I think, when we used to idle about the college, that he would have a statue, and the only statue, in that splendid building.

March 12.—At the House of Commons to-day Russell made a kindly speech, stating the unani-

mous resolution of the Cabinet to carry their Irish Poor-law, with out-door relief under certain circumstances. Edward Ellice, my friend, spoke strongly in its favour, and praised the *united* Cabinet that had grappled with the difficulties of this great question. 1847.

April 12.—Lord John Russell told me that Edward Ellice had written to the Duke of Bedford saying that two or three members of the Cabinet were very willing to resign in favour of an equal number of Peel's friends, who would be a great accession to the Government. Russell remarked this was like Ellice, trying to make matters better than well. "For," said he, "I think we are going on very well."

April 14.—I went to a morning sitting of the House of Commons, which was occupied by Watson's Roman Catholic Relief Bill. I found the House in a ferment at a declaration of Lord Arundel's that there was a struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism, which would last until the latter was extinguished. Enough, as the Speaker said, to knock up ten Bills.

Cabinet dinner at Lord Chancellor's. Russell brought the subject of the defence of the country before us, and said he was exceedingly anxious about it. He thought that if we went to war 30,000 or 40,000 French might be thrown on our shores in a week afterwards, and where was our protection against them? Russell proposed preparing a Militia Bill. Lord Grey objected to

1847. the present Militia, and was for an entirely new organisation of that force.

I remarked upon Lord Grey's scheme that so complete a novelty would startle the people, and make foreign nations think we were in great alarm. Macaulay and Sir G. Grey took the same line. I asked Lord Palmerston if he had any reasons for thinking that the French at this moment meditated immediate hostilities. He said no, but they knew the exact state of our defences just as well as we did ourselves.

April 16.—Took a sight of the new House of Lords. Very gorgeous, much like a church. Quaker Bright said to me that if Ministers persevered in measures like their Education scheme, perhaps it might one day be a church. He told me that the Dissenters all over the Kingdom were up in arms against us; and indeed, from my communications with Nottingham and other places, it is certain there is great excitement amongst all classes of Dissenters except the Catholics and Unitarians; but then the Church is for our schemes, and the Bishops give us open support, all but the very High Church, who, Brougham tells me, are against us.

April 17.—At Cabinet various matters connected with our Irish Bill were discussed. Lord Clanricarde gave us some lamentable instances of neglect of duty on the part of the magistracy. He said that he came among a crowd who were disposed to make a disturbance, and spoke to

some of them. One man said half of them were starving. "Why," said Clanricarde, "I see no starving men here; you yourself look very well." "Sure enough now," replied the man, "is it not that the worst are too weak to come, and send the best here?" 1847.

April 24.—Cabinet. Russell told us he wished to say something about the defence of the country and the Militia Bill. The Duke of Wellington had said we were not safe without a Militia force, ready to assemble, of 100,000 men, and a regular army of 70,000, if that force could not be got.

I asked Palmerston privately whether he thought seriously that the councils and calculations of the French Government were in any way influenced by their knowledge of our defenceless state. He said he had not the least doubt of it. Louis Philippe himself told Lord John Russell at Windsor that, had a war broken out on the Tahiti affair, he might have been compelled to take measures which he, having so strong a feeling of gratitude and affection for England, would deeply deplore. Palmerston said he had been told that, if 40,000 or 30,000 French landed in England, there would be nothing to stop them from going to London; and how horrid it would be to have that capital of the commercial world sacked by an enraged soldiery! He did not imagine the capture of London would force England to peace.

May 1.—I dined at the Royal Academy—a

1847. most dull and tiresome affair, not at all improved since I was there last. The Marquis of Anglesey, in thanking for Army and Navy and the Duke of Wellington, told the company that they would be happy to hear that the absence of the Duke was caused, not by ill-health, but by domestic affliction; that affliction being the death of his brother, Lord Cowley—for whom Lord Anglesey, by the way, had paid damages of £20,000 for running away with Lord Cowley's wife. We had difficulty to keep from laughing outright. Lord Clarendon, Fox Maule, and I—even the Bishop of Lincoln bit his lip to prevent a titter.

May 3.—Took my daughter to a concert at Buckingham Palace. Heard Mario, Grisi, and Tamburini sing. Lord Ripon talked a good deal with me on Board of Control business until General Bowley came up and said, "If you please, the Queen wishes you not to talk."

The music was charming. Mario surpassed himself. George E. Anson told me that he had gone, by the Queen's orders, to Mlle Jenny Lind, and asked her to sing that evening, but she begged H.M. would excuse her as she was to appear the next evening at the Opera House and was exceedingly nervous about her début.

May 12.—Dined at the Lord Mayor's. A great full-dress dinner given to Ministers, about 250 present.

The lion of the show was Sir Harry Smith, who was applauded the moment his name was

mentioned amongst the guests. He returned thanks for the Army in as bad a speech as I ever heard. He spoke of himself without scruple as the "Hero of Aliwal" modestly, at the same time attributing his own great fame and position to the teaching of the Duke of Wellington, and the bravery of the soldiers who fought under him. 1847.

The Lord Mayor, Hudson, of York, was there in glory, and his wife in diamonds, but Mrs. Maberly, placed unhappily next her husband, outshone all in jewellery. She leaves poor Lord Bessborough to die, and tells Labouchere she regrets him much, having always looked upon him as a father!

May 15.—Had a dinner-party. Lady Lovelace was not well enough to come. Lady Charlotte Berkeley, in a whisper, asked me if she was not mad. This is the way families are made miserable by foolish rumours!

O'Connell died at Genoa. Beyond certain comments in the newspapers, his death had made little or no sensation, either here or in Ireland. I asked Moore O'Ferrall if it had done so in Ireland. His answer was, "Not the *least.*" *Ainsi passe la gloire*; but he had ceased to live, according to his former life, for some time before his death.

May 17.—At our Cabinet to-day Lord John told us he had received a letter from Lord Bessborough taking an "eternal farewell" of him. This he

1847. mentioned with a faltering voice, and was much affected, as indeed we all were. Labouchere told me he had received a similar letter from our dying friend.

May 18.—The newspapers announce the death of Lord Bessborough. He died in the utmost tranquillity and in complete possession of his senses. He had strength to shave himself and to eat a bit of chicken the day of his death. The most virtuous, pious, and useful man cannot wish for a happier end. He was nothing of that sort, but he was a general favourite, and for the general transactions of party, and keeping a political body together, had a tact and success such as no man of my times has possessed. He leant to the most liberal section of the Whig party, but, being connected by birth and marriage with the most aristocratic and unpopular portion of it, he was of great use in going between the two and preventing dissension. He was exceedingly cool and collected in circumstances of difficulty, and was not to be deterred by scruples or trifles of any kind from steadily pursuing the object in view. He had an instinctive knowledge of mankind, and his manners being very pleasing and his understanding very good, though not of the higher order, he was an agreeable and a welcome companion wherever he went. He had talents for business and for official details, but none for debate. He could make a very short statement without boggling, nothing more.

May 22.—Had a party to dine and meet Sir Harry Smith. . . . The Duke of Bedford, Fitzroy Somerset, and I talked of old Westminster days and Westminster friends, many now gone. The Duke mentioned with pride that our Prime Minister, our leader in the House of Lords, as well as our President of the Board of Control, were all at Westminster, besides our Attorney and Solicitor-General. 1847.

At dinner, when most of our friends were gone, Sir H. Smith amused the Duke and Duchess of Bedford with stories of the Lahore chiefs and the Ranee. He told us that the Bishop of Calcutta had asked him if he had ever been in much personal risk. He answered, "My horse has sometimes."

My old friend Sir R. Adair, now past eighty-four I believe, looked very well, and seemed to enjoy himself. He told me he had been lately at Paris, and had an opportunity of knowing the facts, and, although he had the worst possible opinion of Guizot's late conduct, yet thought he was behaving well about Portugal.

May 25. — I went this evening with my daughters to the opera, and heard the famous Jenny Lind in the *Sonnambula*. I was charmed beyond measure, not only with her singing but her acting, and forgot her plainness. Her low notes are her best, and like the finest instrument. The house was crammed from top to bottom, and gave Jenny the most enthusiastic applause. We

1847 were in the box next to the royal boxes in which were the Queen and the Queen Dowager, or, as the box-keeper said triumphantly, "The two Queens." Carlotta Grisi danced admirably in the Esmeralda, but we could not easily be pleased with anything after Jenny Lind.

May 27.—Dined with Lord Grey. The Duke of Wellington there and Lord Anglesey, the Bishop of Tasmania, etc. I sat between Fox Maule and the Bishop. The Duke of Wellington was next to Maule. He was very lively, and seemed to relish Maule's stories of military men, all of which had served under him, and several of whom had been killed in one of the Duke's own great victories. Of one he said, "I knew him very well; a very good fellow, and I was very sorry to lose him." Talking of the Goodwin Sands, he said he did not believe the story of their formation, nor of the sea having gained upon the land on that point. He had gone frequently over that part of the coast with Julius Cæsar's "Commentaries" in his hand, and thought he could identify the very spot where Cæsar landed.

Lord Grey did the honours to his illustrious guest, and indeed to all of us, very well; and the Duke seemed much pleased with his attentions. At taking leave he said, "Good-night, my dear Lord."

May 30.—Dined at the Dowager-Duchess of Cleveland's. A large party. The Dowager-Duchess is one of those rare women whom great

prosperity has not spoilt, and who has improved with her rising state. 1847.

May 31.—Russell took me into the Speaker's room to talk to me about the new Governor-General of India.[1] He told me the Queen, speaking to him on the subject, said that "the place was so high it turned people's heads—it had turned Ellenborough's."

June 12.—Went to an assembly at Lady Palmerston's, where I was introduced to the Grand-duke Constantine, a slim young man, with an amiable expression of countenance, and very civil in his demeanour. Brunnow said to him of me, "C'est le roi des Indes." I remarked, "Pas tout à fait roi."

June 27.—Lord Melbourne, Lord Brougham, Lord Methuen, etc., dined with me. Lord Melbourne seemed feeble at first, but was in good spirits at dinner. Between him and Brougham there was a constant talk, and it was difficult to get in a word edge-ways. Indeed, no one tried, not even Bruce, Ellice, or Baillie, neither of whom are silent men. Lord Melbourne had been reading Thiers's history. He mentioned what I had never heard before, that there was a plan for marrying Necker's daughter, Madame de Staël, to William Pitt, and that George Rose was to be the go-between! Brougham confirmed this, and Lord Lansdowne told Robert Gordon next day that it was true.

[1] The Earl of Dalhousie was appointed in August.

1847. *July* 3.—Dined at the Chevalier Bunsen's, and met Prince Waldemar of Prussia, nephew of the King, who was at the battles on the Sutlej. The Duke of Wellington, Lord Ripon, E. J. Stanley, Sir James Hogg, and myself were the only English of a party of twenty-two.

I sat just opposite to the Prince and the Duke of Wellington, and was much amused by their conversation, which turned chiefly on India and Indian armies. The Duke described the marching of a body of troops with their baggage in their centre, and explained it by help of plate, knife, and fork, and bread; mentioning the vast numbers of men, and elephants, and bullocks, and horses, and cars, which he called the impedimenta, and said that the ground seemed alive with their incumbrances for miles. He was in great spirits, and talked most complacently to the youth.

I afterwards went to Lady Palmerston's assembly, which was full of foreign Princes, and the Duchess of Gloucester and Cambridge. Prince Waldemar was there and of course much followed, but the Duke of Wellington received more attention than all these Royalties. I was much pleased with the gallant loyalty with which, when the Duchess of Gloucester shook hands with him, he stooped and kissed the back of her hand. Of all the fine ladies, our hostess was the most to be admired. Her charming, easy, but polite assiduity towards all was most fascinating, particularly

when contrasted with the sulky formality of some and the silly vanities of others. 1847.

July 8.—Russell gave up the Health of Towns Bill at morning sitting, and every one acquiesced in that measure; but the Government certainly suffers from abandoning, or rather from bringing forward, Bills which it cannot carry.

July 20.—I had a letter from Lord John Russell, desiring me to name Lord Dalhousie Governor-General of India, and Pottinger Governor of Madras.

I saw Lord Dalhousie, who was much flattered by the proposal, and begged to have a few days to consider it. He said his first impression was to refuse it, if it had the least appearance of an appointment which was to detach him from his party; but, understanding that it was not so looked upon, he thought he might fairly consider it.

He asked me if he might consult the Duke of Wellington and one other person, and I said, "Of course you may." He then told me that Peel had broken up his own Cabinet, and had no claims upon him. He spoke in terms of great dissatisfaction of Peel; said he had no friend in the Cabinet and consulted nobody. As for himself, he had to manage the business of the House of Lords almost alone, and yet Peel never gave him a word of thanks or encouragement, but treated him like a schoolboy, as he did others. This is in accordance with what I heard the Duke of Wellington said at the time.

1847. *July* 29.—Parliament prorogued. I again stood for Nottingham, but, as I would not have recourse to the usual means, I lost the election.

I wrote a farewell address in very civil terms, making no complaint, and thanking my former constituents for past favours; adding that I should be happy, if circumstances should enable me, to be of service to them hereafter.

The truth was I did not feel angry, knowing that the election had been won because I had refused to do what I had before done, viz. *bribe the voters*. Wakefield told me that Gisborne's election in 1843 had been won by bribing one hundred and fifty voters, which was not found out. He mentioned this to Gisborne in my presence. Wakefield told me that, on this occasion, very small sums, even a shilling, had been given for a vote, and that six or seven hundred fellows waited until nine o'clock, not believing that I would not bribe them, and then took anything they could get; some, out of spite, voted for nothing.

August 5.—My brother Henry writes that half a dozen counties have written to ask me to stand!

The elections appear to go on well, although, strange to say, Macaulay has been beaten at Edinburgh, Hawes by C. Pearson at Lambeth, and George Thompson—the George Thompson—has got in at the head of the poll for the Tower Hamlets, turning out Charles Fox; so that, if having companions in misfortune were any alleviation

of distress, I should have plenty of that sort of comfort. 1847.

I hear that Lord Dalhousie was unanimously chosen Governor-General of India on Wednesday, and Pottinger Governor of Madras *cordially*.

Charles Buller, talking to me of Lord Dalhousie's appointment, confessed that he did not like it originally, but that Lord Dalhousie's open, unaffected manners had won him over, and he now thought he would make an excellent Governor-General. He appears to me a sensible, unpretending man, of very good capacity, but without much instruction, and no brilliancy in his talk, or any attempt at it. He has nothing commanding in his presence, nothing to attract attention in any way; and I think he will be, and will look the better, for a ribbon.

October 19.—Cabinet. Macaulay was in high force, not at all dashed by his Edinburgh adventures.

Russell stated that the Duke of Wellington's opinion as to the defenceless state of the country was confirmed by every military authority. The Duke contended that twenty thousand regulars should be added to our present fifty thousand in the British Islands, and one hundred thousand Militia be in readiness; and in a letter to Lord Anglesey on the subject he said, "With such a force we might defend ourselves against any invaders, and, old as I am, *I would be ready to do so.*"

1847. Russell said that to leave the country unprotected, and to know it to be in a condition which might make it a prey to any adventurous enemy, without making any preparation to avert national ruin, was what he would never consent to. He should ask others to fill his place if he had not the support of his colleagues, and of Parliament, in doing his duty. Macaulay cheered this, and said the proposal was quite right, although it would probably turn out the Government. I remarked that, if there was any force in the Duke's facts and comments on them, the danger was great and was imminent, and no gradual augmentation of the military defence of the country was worth anything, nor was any secret preparation of use, for one of the advantages of being in a good condition to defend ourselves was that it might be known we were so, and so might deter an enemy from attack. Nothing definite was settled on the subject.

October 29.—We dined at Mr. Tucker's—a party of twenty. Mrs. Tucker told me that she had been at Walmer Castle, and the Duke showed her on the mantel-piece of his own room a figure of Napoleon in an arm-chair, and said to her, "That is how he commanded at the battle of Wagram."

CHAPTER XV

January 9.—The Duke and Duchess of Bedford staying with me at Erle Stoke. I had a good deal of talk with the Duke of Bedford on Government affairs. He tells me that Lord John says that I am the only member of the Government about whose department he feels perfectly sure that it will be carried on as it ought to be. "A great compliment," said the Duke. Certainly, if true. 1848.

February 9.—Cabinet. Lord J. Russell desired us to attend to national defences. The upshot was that if we were to call out the Militia, even a 5 per cent. income-tax will be insufficient to meet the expenditure of next year. Palmerston did not deny the financial difficulty, but considered some military preparation absolutely necessary for the safety of the country, saying that he knew positively that the French proposed an invasion; and how could we resist 30,000 or 40,000 enemies? The Duke of Wellington said he did not know where to find 5,000 to oppose them; but, supposing that to be an exaggeration, we certainly had not enough. Russell said very strongly that he could not shut his eyes to the danger of

1848. invasion, and that Louis Philippe himself had told him that in 1844, on the Tahiti affair,[1] the French Cabinet had all but determined to declare war, refuse an apology to us, and attempt a landing at once.

February 15.—I dined at the Palace. Lady Gainsborough, the beautiful, was one of the party, and with her I had some conversation on French affairs, of which she afterwards reminded me, as I ventured to predict that Guizot would soon fall, and deserved to fall; also that I had gloomy forebodings in regard to the approaching Reform Banquet,[2] which, it seemed, Guizot and the King had resolved to prohibit.

I spoke to Palmerston on these matters, and he thought Guizot would not stand, but had no fears for the royal Governor, Louis Philippe, surrounded by 60,000 troops and more.

February 22.—This being the day fixed for the great Reform Banquet at Paris, my brother Tom and I speculated upon it. Would Guizot prevent it, or not? We both anticipated most gloomy events, and condemned Guizot.

[1] On September 1, 1842, the French Admiral, Dupetit Thouars, proclaimed French sovereignty over the island of Tahiti. In March 1844 a French sentinel there was attacked, and D'Aubigny, the Commander, ordered an Englishman named Pritchard to be imprisoned, as instigator of the outrage, and seized his goods. This act, which led the two countries to the verge of war, was disavowed by the French Government.

[2] One of the best accounts of the Banquet of the 12th arrondissement, and of all the events of the revolution of 1848, is to be found in the "Memoirs of a Parisian," Dr. Poumiès de la Siboutie (English translation).

February 26.—The astounding news came that 1848.
Louis Philippe had abdicated on Thursday, after a sanguinary conflict on Wednesday and part of Thursday, in which first the National Guards and subsequently part of the troops of the line joined the insurgents. Waterfield wrote to me enclosing an extract from the *Daily News* and saying, "In case you do not leave Erle Stoke before the arrival of the post, I send you the reports from Paris—worse and worse." And I had a letter from my brother Henry, saying a Provisional Government was established at the Hôtel de Ville and the Comte de Paris proclaimed King, under regency of his mother. The evening papers now announce that the attempt to establish a regency had failed, although the Duchess of Orleans had taken her children to the Chamber of Deputies, and that a *Republic had been proclaimed*. The news filled me with alarm, but I found people here, in London, more engaged with the probable defeat of Ministers on the Income-tax than with the dreadful events in France.

February 27.—The *Examiner* contains the first proclamation of the Republican Government, or, as it is called, the Provisional Government. Amongst the first acts of Ledru Rollin, Minister of the Interior, is a notice regulating the approaching exposition of pictures at the Louvre, which, it is said, "will be very gratifying to the artists."

Met Lord Clare, who told me Lady Shelburne

1848. is in great alarm for the Duchess of Orleans. The Duc de Nemours and the Duke and Duchess of Coburg (Princess Clementine of France) are arriving at the French embassy, without a change of clothes!

My brother Henry dined with me. He told me that Captain Dalrymple, M.P., had escaped from Paris with some difficulty. He told Henry that on Monday last he was at Louis Philippe's Levee at the Tuileries, and the King spoke to him and said: "My Parisians are resolved to have a struggle with me. I know what they are about as well as they do themselves. I am quite prepared for them, and shall give them a good beating."

This was said on Monday evening. On Thursday afternoon he had ceased to reign.

February 28.—I dined at the Asiatic Club. There was a good deal said about France, but rather in a merry tone. No one yet, generally speaking, seems to appreciate fully the events of last week. There are all sorts of rumours: death of Louis Philippe; declaration of war against Austria; probable stock-jobbing, etc.

Read in one of the F.O. boxes a letter from Lord Normanby in which he details a conversation with Louis Philippe about Naples. Louis Philippe strongly condemned the conduct of the King of Naples towards the Sicilians, and accused him of cheating them of their liberties and constitution! This was at the end of January.

February 29.—F.O. box came round late with despatches from Lord Normanby, dated yesterday, February 28. Lamartine had given Normanby an account of the difficulties he had to encounter on the day the present Government was formed. He was in face of a mob of 60,000 armed drunken men, at the Place de la Grève, and he showed Normanby a scratch which he received in the face from a bayonet when he recommended mild measures, and told them not to wreak their vengeance on the poor old man, Louis Philippe. On being thus menaced he said, "Well, if you want a victim, take me, I am ready." At which the mob grew calm and heard him afterwards with great applause, following him to the Hôtel de Ville. Voices called out, "Be our First Consul." 1848.

He answered: "No, not unless you wish me to be shot to-night."

Lamartine then dwelt on his wish for the English alliance, and said the peace of Europe depended upon it, expressing a hope that an occasion would be found for the English Minister to declare his *support* of the French Republic. Lamartine said there was an inclination in some quarters to make a propaganda war, but he had repressed it, and would maintain the *status quo* until attacked.

Normanby gave his own opinion to Palmerston as to the expediency of our maintaining friendly relations with France. Thus a poet and a moralist

1848. have opened the first communications between the infant giant Republic and the most powerful of the old monarchies of Europe.

I have heard that Lamartine is one of the vainest of mortals; if he is so I know he is well matched. But I must do Normanby the justice to record that he foresaw the coming storm, for I read in every F.O. box despatches of his to Palmerston, dated 7th, 11th, and 14th February, showing that he thought a collision between the King and people inevitable; that the discontent was general; that the National Guard was sure to take the part with the people.

March 1.—I see that the great struggle in which Lamartine finally subdued the people by his courage and his eloquence took place on Friday, the 25th, before the Hôtel de Ville. The mob would not hear Louis Blanc, and pointed muskets and pistols at Lamartine, who faced them for more than an hour with folded arms until he got a hearing and mastered their bad passions. Proposals were made to fling the members of the Provisional Government from the windows of the Hôtel de Ville.

The decrees of the new Government are, some of them, very foolish and *social*, or rather anti-social, such as shortening the hours of labour, fixing minimum of wages, etc.; but their deeds are wise and energetic. Paris is tranquil, and the Departments generally adhere to the new order of things.

March 4.—Louis Philippe and his family and Guizot arrived in England. 1848.

I saw Lord Palmerston, who remarked that all the principal abettors of the Spanish marriages had their rewards: Bresson had killed himself, the King and Guizot were in exile, and the Duke and Duchess of Montpensier flying to that Court which they had been the instruments of thwarting. The King and Queen had a passport as a Mr. and Mrs. Smith. The Queen's carriage was sent to London Bridge Station to take Louis Philippe, etc., to Claremont.

Charles Villiers was in Paris in September last, and had repeated proofs of the progress of Socialism. He said that this was a social, and not a political, revolution.

March 6.—There was an excellent article in the *Times*, evidently from some good authority, tracing the catastrophe in France directly to the blindness, wavering, and pusillanimity of the King, which I have since seen confirmed by Lord Normanby's despatches.

March 11.—Louis Philippe and his Queen came to London and saw Her Majesty on Monday last. Lord Grey expressed a strong opinion on the expediency of showing more than mere hospitality to the ex-King and his family—a sentiment in which most of us concurred.

Lord Morpeth, on Thursday, said he could not help pitying a man who had suffered the most woeful reverse known to history, on which

1848. Clanricarde very eloquently pointed out the mischiefs of which this man had been the author, and I followed him in the same tone.

March 12.—A letter came from Sir E. Bulwer-Lytton, in answer to a letter I had written him asking him to support my brother Tom at Lincoln. It accused the party of *discourtesy and ingratitude without a parallel* in sending a Cabinet Minister's brother down to Lincoln to oppose him who otherwise would have been accepted by all parties. The letter was civil personally to me. I sent and explained to Sir Edward that, before sending Tom to Lincoln, I had inquired whether he would stand, and was told it was out of the question. I said my brother should withdraw at once if Sir Edward could show he had a chance of success.

This novel-writer is a strange, irresolute, conceited man; totally incapable of managing his own affairs, but not at all without selfishness.

Coppock [1] told him to his face that his complaint of the ingratitude of the party was ridiculous. He had been a Baronet, his brother had a place of £8,000 a year, he had been helped by the party purse at elections, and now he had turned half Tory, half Protectionist, and assisted in turning Seely, the Liberal, out of Parliament. If he had not made some noise in the world by his novels, I should not trouble myself to write so much about him.

[1] James Coppock, Parliamentary Agent to the Liberal party, died 1857.

March 15.—I had a letter from my brother, 1848.
enclosing an advertisement from Bulwer-Lytton, resigning the contest very handsomely, and calling on his friends to vote for my brother.

Went to an assembly at Lady Castlereagh's. Saw the Duke of Montebello, ex-Minister of Marine, much changed from the man whom I had seen Ambassador at Naples. He said the change was one which no prudence could possibly foresee. He added that the French people had no real grievance; they were told they had, and believed it.

I had a long conversation with Lady Malmesbury, who spoke a great deal of her cousin, the Duc de Guiche, and relation Sebastiani. She said the latter had not a particle of feeling. He was on horseback in the Place de Carrousel, giving orders, when a messenger came up and said, "Le Roi a abdiqué!" "Ah!" said he, "C'est différent," and very coolly left the place. She added that he was not even affected by the murder of his daughter, Madame la Duchesse de Praslin.

I had a good deal of talk with Lady Jersey, who did not conceal her joy at the fall of Louis Philippe, for, says she, I am a Legitimist. She hoped that things in Paris would get as bad as possible.

Lady Gainsborough asked me to prophesy again, as I had been so lucky before about the fall of Guizot. I told her that my luck in that respect prevented me from hazarding my acquired reputation.

1848. *March* 16.—Lord Hardinge, who had arrived the day before, called on me. We had a most cordial meeting. Of his Sutlej battles he said not a word—a remarkable instance of a soldier's modesty! He condemned the acquisition of Scinde as unjust and unprofitable, and told me it had nearly broken up the Peel Cabinet.

His leg seemed to annoy him, and he asked me to walk about the room with him; but he was looking very well, not blanched, but, as Waterfield said, as if he was ruddy with the breezes of my Wiltshire Downs.

A telegraphic letter from Lincoln announced that my brother Tom had carried the seat by 50 majority. I believe he owes the result in a great measure to his own exertions!

March 18.—Went to Lady Palmerston's assembly with my daughter. Lord Hardinge, the lion of the evening, told me he had seen a good deal of Louis Philippe last autumn, and that Louis Philippe had talked in the most incautious way, *e.g.* of his contempt for the French Navy, of his complete command of the French people, and such things. Speaking one day of his distributing crosses and ribbons, he said to my informant, "You see I know how to play the part pretty well."

Lady Tankerville was very sulky, and, when I forced her to speak, said in her broken tongue, "You see what your Radical principles have done." I told her our Radical principles, whether

good or bad, had nothing to do with the folly and cowardice of a Government forbidding a dinner, rousing a mob, calling out 100,000 soldiers to quell it, and then running away without fighting. "Ah," said she, "the French soldiers will not fight." No, not if they are told not to fight by those whom they ought to obey. 1848

March 20.—This day arrived the marvellous news, even in these days of wonder, that a conflict had taken place at Vienna, on the 13th and 14th of the month, between the troops and citizens, which had ended in the victory of the latter; that Prince Metternich had resigned and fled, and the Emperor had promised freedom of the Press, a National Guard, and a Representative Assembly, to which deputies from all his States, including Lombardy, are to be now sent. The fall of Metternich is the rise of Germany and the freedom of Italy. In recording these prodigious events, one is reminded of that most heroic line:

"I follow Fate, that does too fast pursue."

March 22.—Went to Prince Albert's Levee. The appearance of the Corps Diplomatique was most pitiful; they looked like what they are—the representatives of nobody!

March 24.—Saw Van de Weyer, who confessed that this vast revolution, although bad for France, would benefit the rest of Europe. Prince Metternich is flying for his life to England.

1848. Read some F.O. papers, amongst them an admirable despatch from Palmerston to Lord Westmorland giving good advice to the King of Prussia. This advice the King appeared to take in good part, and behaved very differently from Prince Metternich, who, on hearing of the French Revolution, told Lord Ponsonby that the horrors of 1793 would be re-enacted at Paris, and he was resolved to resist every attempt for reform. The obstinate, blind old man had reigned with good fortune and bad fame for forty years.

March 29.—I went to a large party at Devonshire House. The Prince of Prussia there. Many people spoke to me about Ireland, and said the sooner the struggle began the better. It was impossible to look at all the gay splendours of this newly furnished palace, and of the fine company assembled there, and not to contrast the scene with the havoc and desolation which one day of insurrection in London may produce!—a day not quite so unlikely to come as most people imagine!

April 1.—I had a letter from Harwich, stating that I was put in nomination the day before, in spite of my declining, by public advertisement, to become a candidate.

Before the business of the Cabinet started to-day I was mentioning some violent language which I had heard in the streets—"Why should I pay for a Queen?"—and adding, "I never had such a thing happen to me before," when

Sir George Grey opened an office box he had just received, and said, "I will tell you something that has happened to you—look here! 1848.

"'By electric telegraph from Harwich:

"'Hobhouse . . . 121
Sutton . . . . 101.'"

On which there was a great shout, and congratulations from all, especially Macaulay: "So you are to be chosen not only without an effort, but against your will."

The numbers at the close of the poll were:

Hobhouse . . 131
Sutton . . . 127—Majority 4.

Went to Lord Auckland's, where I found the company going into dinner. There was a burst of laughing applause when I told the party the news, and the agreeable banter was kept up for some time by my friends. Lord Hardinge and Lord Jocelyn insisted on drinking my health, and said I was coming back to the good old boroughmongering system, of being returned without seeing my constituents. I told them not to depreciate Harwich; it had returned great men before now: Bonham and Canning. "Yes," said Lord Hardinge, "but they went down and consented to canvass."

April 3.—Saw my Harwich elector, Mr. Bird, and put into his hand an address thanking the Harwich voters, and accepting the seat.

1848. *April* 4.—Took my seat at the House of Commons, being introduced by John Elliot and Henry Berkeley. I shook hands with Clerk, Speaker, Doorkeeper, and Feargus O'Connor, who crossed over to the Treasury Bench to welcome me. I felt as if I had not been absent a day, except that I did not know half the members.

April 8.—Cabinet. We discussed the best mode of dealing with the Chartist Meeting. Whilst we were talking the Duke of Wellington came in and bowed very formally, but civilly, two or three times to us. He then came up to the table and looked at the map and heard Colonel Rowan's plan. He did not say much, but what he did say was decisive. He would have plenty of room for the Chartists to run away. He would not show the troops until they were to be used. He would not allow the police to be overcome at first. He thought the bridges the best place at which to stop the procession, and, if the Chartists assembled on the other side of the river, they might be stopped at the end of any street as easily as at a bridge. The great thing, he said, was to keep the parks and public offices clear. Most of this had been said by Rowan, but the authority of "the great man," as Hardinge called him at his dinner, gave weight to it, and we all listened and looked on respectfully.

April 10.—There was an appearance of the expectation of some struggle or disastrous event.

When I got to the Indian Board I found some clerks rather annoyed at there being no arms nor any military force there. I cannot say I felt quite easy, separated as I was from my children, and recollecting that my door had been chalked, as also had Lord Grey's and Labouchere's. Lord J. Russell had a force of constables in his house. 1848.

I sat down to office business, not expecting, but thinking it by no means improbable that I should hear discharges of musketry or cannon from the other side of the river. Indeed, the slamming of doors made me start once or twice, and I looked at Westminster Bridge to see whether it was crowded. I heard cheers, and, going to the window, saw a boat with soldiers going under the bridge, and a crowd on the bridge, with men on horseback waving hats; and shortly after the bridge was completely empty, and a few mounted police were guarding it. Shortly after, Mr. Plowden came into the room full of glee, and said, "It is all over." He had been to the Home Office and learned that Feargus O'Connor had just been with Sir George Grey to announce that the meeting had broken up, that the procession was abandoned, and that he was about to take the monster petition to the House of Commons in six cabs.

I went to the House of Commons at half-past four, and saw the petition in two great rolls on the floor of the outward lobby. The

1848. second reading of the Crown and Government Security Bill was read, and Mr. W. S. O'Brien rose and delivered the most audacious speech ever heard in Parliament, threatening England with an Irish Republic, etc., and concluding with menacing Lord John Russell with the fate of Guizot and Metternich.

Sir George Grey rose, but before he could say a word he was hailed by the loudest cheers from all sides of the House, as if we owed our safety to him. I recollect no similar reception for any similar act. Grey made a most spirited speech, and exposed the impudence and meanness and shuffling of O'Brien, who bore the exposure without blushing, amidst the cheers of the whole House.

Our new Solicitor-General, Romilly, made a very good speech. He acquitted O'Brien of treasonable designs, but ascribed his dangerous extravagance to a vulgar love of notoriety, which he said had sometimes led weak men to the most desperate deeds. He had heard of a man flinging himself off the Monument in order to get talked of. O'Brien winced at this more than all the charges of treason. Mr. Henry Drummond was very well listened to. He showed that the Chartists were but imitators of the Socialists of France, and that their doctrines would end in their own ruin; but he ended quietly with recommending an extension of the suffrage, in order that the lower classes might have their

attention diverted from bad designs to the making of members of Parliament. 1848.

The House divided on the second reading, 452 to 35—I think the largest majority in which I ever voted. There was much cheering when it was announced.

Thus ended this far-feared Monday, the events of which, Lionel Rothschild said, were more important for England than the most glorious victory she ever gained!

April 14.—House of Commons. I sat in the gallery for a long time, and was joined by Lord Douro, with whom I had a very interesting conversation, chiefly about his father. He said it was not very easy for him to be a public man with such a father, who, although he had no prejudice against persons, had the strongest attachment to old systems, and thought everything new must be bad.

Lord Douro said the Duke thought a barrack the perfection of all human dwelling-places, and the discipline of a soldier the *beau idéal* of human institutions. He thought the bad should be punished for the comfort of the good, and therefore would not abolish flogging. He deplored the turn public affairs had taken for many years, and disliked especially Sir Robert Peel, of whose manners he complained.

The Duke told his son that, just after Peel quitted office in July 1846, he joined him riding to the House of Commons, and made two or three

1848. remarks on late events; but Peel said not a word during the whole ride, and only when they parted said, "Good-day, Duke."

Lord Douro is a singular man, liberal in his politics in some respects, but evidently more attached to Tory radicalism than to Whig liberality. He thinks that a movement from the lower working-classes is inevitable, and to be prevented only by some decided legislation in their favour. He would alter the Poor-laws and provide for the poor by taxation. "What a shame it is," said he, "that I, who pay a hundred pounds a year to the Income-tax, should only pay ten pounds per year to the Poor's Rates." He added that Lord John Russell was all-powerful and could do what was necessary in this respect. Both Houses would pass any Bill to effect such an object, and, if Lord John was afterwards turned out for having effected such a change, it was only what a wise, honest statesman should make up his mind to. Peel had done so in regard to the Corn-laws, and for this he praised him.

April 19.—Macaulay[1] walked away with me from the House of Commons, and, to my great surprise said, "Well, thank Heaven, that's my last Cabinet." He then told me he felt as happy as a schoolboy going home. I expressed my great regret and tried in every way to persuade him

[1] Mr. Macaulay, who had failed to be re-elected for Edinburgh in 1847, was Paymaster-General.

to reconsider his decision; but he said he had told Lord John Russell that he would retain his office until Easter, and would make every suitable effort to get into Parliament, but one scheme after another had failed, and he could not consent to hold any longer a sinecure which could be only kept justifiable by a man who rendered parliamentary services. I mentioned Gladstone's case and Lord Lincoln's, to which he replied that their offices were not sinecures, and that my place as President of the Indian Board was quite different from his. He added that he had a fondness for literature above all other pursuits, and, as he could indulge it without the trial or anxiety of those who wrote for bread or rivalry, he preferred devoting himself to it to continuing in office. He said that, after his opinions and modes of thinking, it was very difficult to gain and to keep a popular constituency. He could not keep Leeds nor Edinburgh, he did not like to represent a patron either; in short, politics did not suit him, and, had not the difficult days of late occurred, he would have retired before now. He was greatly indebted to Lord John for all his considerate kindness, but if he sacrificed his character he should be of no use to any one. He will be a great loss in every way. 1848.

May 14.—I saw in one of Normanby's letters that he thought all parties in Paris were disappointed that our April 10 had gone off so peaceably.

1848. We have had glorious weather for nearly three weeks, and the harvest promises to be excellent. Should it prove to be so, Heaven will help us to weather the storm. I could not help reflecting at the banquet at the Palace, yesterday, that in no other place in the civilised world can a similar scene now be witnessed. At the same time, it ought to be remembered that a strong opinion prevails that our institutions want reforms and that the condition of the labouring classes requires careful attention. The convulsions on the Continent are of such constant occurrence that we scarcely look at them with interest or surprise. Movements that would have terrified us for a month are now daily reported from Poland, Hungary, Italy, Bohemia, Denmark, and scarcely arrest our attention. There has been a second insurrection at Madrid, which no one seems to care about. Palmerston mentioned it in a cursory manner at the Cabinet; no one else alluded to it.

May 18.—Sir Charles Napier called and was with me an hour. I was much pleased with him —lively, amusing, with nothing of pretension or affectation in his manners, though not unwilling to talk of himself if a fair occasion offers.

I told him of the strange conduct of a certain Captain Jacob, of Aden, who had refused to undertake some duty on a scruple of conscience, on which he said: "Conscience should not wear a red coat. When I undertook the command of the Northern District under Lord John Russell,

I put all my Radical opinions in my blue coat- 1848.
pocket, and locked the coat in a portmanteau, which I left behind me. I told Lord John this when I went to see him on taking the command."

Sir Charles told me he had just come from Paris and was there on Monday last, the Monday of the revolt. He said he mixed with the people a good deal during his visit, and heard almost the same story from all. "Louis Philippe was a *fripon*; but then, men are ten times worse. They take our money and give us nothing in return." "Nevertheless," said he, "my favourite universal suffrage has worked well, and if the great majority of the National Assembly had an executive to govern in their name, all would go well." He told me our April 10 had produced the greatest effect on the Continent.

Went to Lady Stanley's. Lord Stanley said to me when I dropped a ring, "What is it? Your Cabinet key. I won't pick it up." I remarked that he had always something smart to say about poor men in office, and asked him if he remembered calling across the street to me when Glenelg resigned: "Who is to have Glenelg's night-cap?"

Talbot, M.P., says that the scenes now passing in all the great capitals and countries of Europe are like a series of dissolving views. Very good!

June 23.—Cabinet. Russell told us if we were beaten on our Sugar Duties we should go out. I

1848. walked away with Auckland, who told me he thought and *hoped* that we should be beaten on the Sugar question, as he felt our position was not creditable; a Government that depended on nothing but its own force ought not to stand. That may be, but we took office on those terms, and are much stronger than when we came in. Moreover, who can succeed us, that would not be obliged to accept office on the same terms?

I had a long conversation with the Duke of Bedford. The Duke confessed to me that our Chancellor of the Exchequer is exceedingly unpopular, and that his Department is thought to be the only ill-managed one of all the Government. Yet Charles Wood is a clever man, and an amiable man, and a very honest man. He has a most unhappy defect, viz. he speaks like the man in Foote's farce, who, trying the experiment of Demosthenes, forgot to pull the pebbles out of his mouth.

June 27.—I wonder who will be master of France on my next birthday, if I have another return of this day.

June 28.—Went to a concert at the Palace. Graham sat next to me. Talking of Peel's shyness, he told me what I did not know before, that he was very nervous even about speaking in Parliament. I had a little talk with Peel, who had one of his reserved fits on him, but was friendly enough.

June 29.—House of Commons. We divided on

the Sugar Duty Bill, and were 260 to 245 — a majority smaller than was expected by either side. 1848.

July 2.—There is an excellent article in the *Examiner* on the late transactions in Paris. These are so terrible, and so close to us, that we scarcely think of Italy or Germany, although great events are in daily occurrence there, to say nothing of the Danish affair, and the march of 300,000 Russians to their frontier.

July 8.—Cabinet. Sir G. Grey opened the business this day by reading some very distressing reports of the potato disease having again appeared both in Ireland and in England. This news distressed us very much. Campbell raised his eyes and hands, and when I said that if I was not a party man I should pray that the Whigs might never come into office, as there was sure to follow some visitation from Heaven, he assented, and said there was a fatality attached to us. Bad harvests, pestilence, revolutions!

N.B.—The potato disease began in Peel's time.

July 22.—Went to Lady Palmerston's Assembly. I had a good deal of friendly conversation with Disraeli. He told me our Government might last as long as it liked. It was a weak Government, and therefore durable. Strong Governments always fell to pieces—*e.g.* Lord Grey's and Peel's. He confessed to me that the Protectionists and some of Peel's people were proposed to take the Government the other day.

The Dowager Lady Sligo, an amusing woman,

1848. told me a saying that in Belgravia "all the daughters were brave and all the sons chaste." She was not aware that this was a counter-parody of the eulogy on the Lucas family, but the scandal is funnily worded.

August 6.—We were beaten on the ballot, which was opposed by Lord J. Russell. This is the first time ballot has been carried. It is not a sign of the strength of the cause, but of our weakness. The great argument against it was not used, viz. that what might have been desirable before the Reform Bill in order to give protection and thereby additional influence to the popular cause was not wanting after that great measure. I told Russell this, and he said: "Ah, that is your reason, but it is not mine. I put my objection on the popular ground that it is not advantageous to the people themselves." But Russell never voted for ballot.

August 16.—Disraeli brought on his threatened discussion on foreign policy, and more particularly on Lord Minto's Italian diplomacy and our interference in that peninsula. He made an amusing and striking speech of an hour and a quarter, but made a mistake in his mode of treating the subject in regard to France.

Palmerston replied in one of the most able and effective speeches I ever heard in Parliament, and, by a strain of sober statement and conclusive inference, completely obliterated the impression made by Disraeli's ridicule. His defence of the

present rulers of France and comment on what Disraeli had said of the delitescent condition of the Republic, was most happy. He spoke nearly an hour without a note, and sat down amidst great cheering, which the rascally *Times* said but little about, and actually referred what Bernal Osborne said afterwards in praise of Palmerston's speech to Disraeli's speech. I know this to be the case, for I asked Osborne myself, and he told me so, adding that the speech had done more good to the Government than anything during the whole session. 1848

September 3.—Went with my eldest daughter Julia by rail to York, and thence to Edinburgh. Walked about this city, which appears to be more magnificent than ever.

September 6.—Arrived at Taymouth Castle. Met with the warmest reception from the charming hostess, who dined downstairs that day, but was too ill during the remainder of our visit to leave her room. Landseer and Sir Alexander Campbell amongst the guests. Landseer is an agreeable, well-informed man, with a little dash of coxcombry about him, but not offensively so. He has lived a great deal with many distinguished men, and has profited by their society.

September 8.—Lady Jersey and Lady Clementine Villiers arrived, also Lord and Lady Sefton. Queen Sara was very gracious to us all, and her handsome Lady Clementine was as pleasing as a fine young London lady can be.

1848. Lady Jersey gave me her opinion of men and things very freely. She told me there was not a distinguished man in the Cabinet, and that she had never known more than one real sagacious statesman in her life, viz. the Duke of Wellington. She told me she heard the Queen say to Peel, "I am sure, Sir Robert, you will be glad to hear that Lord Melbourne is better"—a compliment, as Lady Jersey observed, to Peel, no less than a proof of her regard for Melbourne.

September 25.—News of the death of Lord George Bentinck. This happened suddenly as he was walking over from Welbeck to Lord Manners to dine. He did not come to dinner, and when the carriage arrived to bring him back to Welbeck a search was made for him, and he was found by the wayside quite dead. It was found he had died of a disease of the heart. The last time I saw Lord George Bentinck was in the House of Commons, and we talked of the cholera, on which he remarked with a contemptuous tone, "It is but death. What is death?" These were the last words I ever heard him utter.

November 25.—I went to Brooks's and found Lord Melbourne was dead. The article in the *Times*, which must have been ready for some time, was on the whole unfair to him, but did him justice in regard to his conduct on the Queen's accession, which Dundas had said was not the case.

His existence had become painful to himself

and others, and the continuance of it was not to be desired. I had known for some time that he was dying. 1848.

I dined at S.S.B.S. Rowland Alston spoke of Melbourne, his neighbour in Hertfordshire, with great affection. Indeed, except one person, and that a woman, I never heard him mentioned with bitterness.

November 27.—Dined at Lord Granville's. Guizot there, much altered since I saw him in 1840. We exchanged distant bows. He was agreeable, as usual, and talked of the murder of Rossi[1] and the commotions at Rome with more unconcern than I thought quite proper, considering who gave the first impulse or excuse for the great convulsions in Europe; on other matters he was amusing. I had a good deal of talk with Lady Granville, and did not join the circle that gathered round Guizot, for amiable as he is in private, I have a great dislike for his public character. He had just returned from a visit to Sir Robert Peel, where also Louis Philippe and the late Queen had been.

December 22.—The Disraelis came on a visit to Erle Stoke. We asked a neighbour or two to meet them. The orator seems to be a good-

[1] Pellegrino Rossi, a distinguished jurist, who, after being driven from Italy in 1815, played a leading part as professor in Switzerland and in France. He became a naturalised Frenchman and a peer. From 1845 to 1848 he was French Ambassador in Rome; but in 1848 he was appealed to by Pius IX. to accept the post of head of his Ministry. He was assassinated as he was entering the Chamber of Deputies on November 15, 1848.

1848. natured and good-humoured man, but with a melancholy turn of mind which is impressed upon his countenance. He does not talk much, and what he says is given in set phrases and with hesitation, as he speaks in Parliament. He quotes books, chiefly commonplace, such as Walpolian, etc., and does not appear to have much reading. He told Mr. Peacock, however, that his real turn was for classical literature, of which he lamented he knew so little. Adding that the summit of Heaven's bliss was to be possessed of £300 a year, and live a retired life amongst books.

He was much delighted with Peacock, and surprised to find in him the author of "Headlong Hall," and calling him his "master"; but, says Peacock to me, "I did not know he was my pupil."

Disraeli had several conversations with me on political matters, and talked very openly. He told me Peel's friends were moving heaven and earth to get the Protectionists to join them; but that no corresponding inclination had yet been shown by him and his friends, although a juncture might and would take place if occasion offered. He spoke with great bitterness of Peel, and also of Graham, but not so much so as of Peel.

Disraeli told me that Lord Stanley broke up Peel's Government in the first instance by saying, "It is no use arguing the matter. We cannot

do this as gentlemen," meaning repeal the Corn- 1848
laws. Yet Disraeli owned to me that had Peel assembled his party and told them openly his opinions, they would have given way and followed him.

Disraeli told me that Lord George Bentinck wrote him a very long and careful letter the night before he died.

December 24.—Louis Napoleon Buonaparte proclaimed President of the French Republic. He had more than five millions of votes.

December 26.—Disraeli took leave of me in a set speech, quoting Byron's lines, "Farewell." He had gone upstairs as he said, without taking leave, to avoid the pain of parting![1]

[1] The editor recalls this last evening when, though not out, she was made to sing (having a fine voice) to the great man, he walked up to the piano and said epigrammatically only two words, "Fatally brief."

CHAPTER XVI

1849. LONDON. *January* 2.—Just received a letter informing me of the almost sudden death of Lord Auckland on Monday. He was in his sixty-fifth year. What will become of his sisters? His death will be a great loss both publicly and privately, particularly to me in both respects; and, although he was the most silent member of the Cabinet, he will be much missed in Council, for he was a safe and an accurate man, and a ready master of official details. As a speaker in Parliament he was generally deficient, although he now and then made an exceedingly appropriate speech. I believe he was one of the best administrators of his great office that ever sat at the Admiralty. I am sure he endeavoured to do his duty most conscientiously.

In society he was pleasing and amiable, but never tried to shine in conversation. He was, indeed, rather more shy and reserved than was agreeable to those whom he did not know well. He was by common consent one of the best Governors-General that ever ruled India, putting, of course, the disasters of the Afghan expedition

out of the question, and confining the remark to his civil administration. 1849.

January 23.—At Cabinet to-day, I stated my opinion that it was absolutely necessary to put the chief command in India in other hands, and replace General Whish at Moultan. Lord Grey broke out, and was very loud against allowing Lord Gough to remain so long as we had done, and when I told him that the Duke of Wellington did not wish him to be removed said, I had no business to give way to the Duke of Wellington. I was responsible, the Government was responsible, and the Duke of Wellington was not responsible, all of which I said was very true, but the conditions of our Government were that in military matters we should give way to the Duke of Wellington, and I had done so.

January 26.—Went to Cabinet. Lord John Russell told us he had seen the Duke of Wellington. The Duke said Gough must be replaced, he condemned the battles on the Chenab. I then read two letters from the Duke of Wellington to Lord Dalhousie. They were admirable in every respect, equal to any of the public despatches of this great captain. The one of January 7 was written before the news of the late battles arrived, and the result of them has shown his great sagacity. He condemns in the strongest manner "running after a great battle," and forcing an enemy to fight. I have got these letters. Even Lord Grey burst into a note of admiration: "How great

1849. he is on military matters, how clear, how comprehensive!"

February 7.—I dined at the Trinity House. The Duke of Wellington, the master, was in the chair. I sat near Sir Byam Martin, who told me that the last time he saw Lord Collingwood was when he accompanied him to his boat, on leaving England to take command of the fleet, and Lord Collingwood said to him: "I have a family and I have a wife; for the many years that I have been married I have not been at home so many weeks. How little do the people of England know the sacrifices we make for them!"

March 10.—Had a dinner-party. Lord and Lady John Russell, Lord Granville, Sir George Grey, Duke of Wellington, etc. I sat next to the Duke of Wellington, who told me that one of his ears, the left, was of no use to him, the other of very little, and that he could scarcely hear at all in the House of Lords. He looked very well, and told me he never wore a great coat, and never caught cold. He is a very wonderful man in every way, and, as Napier said to me, "I hope that he may be long spared to us."

March 11.—Had another dinner-party. Sir David Dundas, Charles Villiers, Mr. Hamilton, Lord Henry Vane, Mr. Grey, M.P., etc. Although these guests are some of the cleverest men in England, I do not recollect anything was said particularly worthy of record, except perhaps

that Mr. Hamilton told us he saw Lady Hamilton sitting between her husband and Lord Nelson at Naples, and feeding them both most plentifully with oysters! 1849.

April 1.—Dined at Baron Lionel de Rothschild's. A party of twenty—seven of his own religion, and very pleasing people. The Baroness very beautiful, as usual!

In the drawing-room Lord Minto told me one or two very interesting anecdotes of Lord Nelson, whom he had known very well, when with his father, an intimate friend of that great Admiral. He said that, in common life, Lord Nelson had nothing whatever to distinguish him, except that he looked like a goose in his gait and manner; but that he was intensely given up to his profession and thought of little or nothing else—so much so that, in talking of other matters, he was rather below than above ordinary men.

I told him of what my father had heard Lord Nelson say at Mr. Addington's table that, if the French nation had but one neck he would cut it off as he would the fowl's before him; and Lord Minto said he had heard Lord Nelson say of the French, "Damn them, I hate them all."

Lord Minto told me that his father was with Lord Nelson on the evening before the battle of St. Vincent, and Lord Nelson said to him: "We shall have something to do to-morrow where you will have no business; you have a wife and children, and must be elsewhere." So Lord

1849. Minto went on board a frigate whilst the battle of St. Vincent took place; and Nelson, in a small seventy four, disobeying orders, gained the victory and with his squadron took every ship that was taken.

After the victory Sir Gilbert Elliot, Lord Minto's father, was consulted by Lord St. Vincent, and it was intended, in the first instance, to make particular mention of Nelson. Nelson said to Sir Gilbert Elliot, "I am a poor man, I cannot afford to take an hereditary honour"; on which Sir Gilbert Elliot said to him, "What would you think of the Bath?" "Ah," said Nelson, "I should like that"; and Lord St. Vincent was about to make particular mention of Nelson, when it was represented to him that such reference might be injurious to Sir Robert Calder and other captains of the fleet. It was, therefore, determined that the Admiral's despatches should not contain any distinct recommendation of Nelson, but that Sir Robert Calder (St. Vincent's Captain), who carried the report home, should, by word of mouth, inform the Admiralty of Nelson's great service in the battle.

When the *Gazette* was published due notice was not, in the first instance, taken of Nelson, and it was only on Sir Gilbert Elliot's remonstrances with Lord Spencer and the Admiralty that Nelson received his reward.

Such was Sir Robert Calder's treatment of Nelson, but when Nelson was sent out in 1805

to supersede Sir Robert Calder he wished to send him home in a line-of-battle ship, notwithstanding he could ill afford to spare it, before Trafalgar, and it was Calder himself who preferred a frigate for his conveyance to England. This is real magnanimity. 1849.

Lord Minto told me that when Nelson passed through Vienna after the battle of the Nile he was looked upon as something more than human, and that he (Lord Nelson) had seen the people in the streets run after him to touch his clothes.

Sir Thomas Hardy often said of him, in Lord Minto's presence, that when he engaged in talk or in action, about sea-affairs, he was like one inspired. He saw and foresaw, and arranged, and commanded, in a way that showed he was above all around him.

He was so beloved in his ship that no service was ever thought too hard or perilous under his command. He hated corporal punishment, and when it was forced upon him, said, "Well, you are captain of the ship, but don't let me hear or see it." Lord Minto had this from his father.

All this may have been published, but it was new to me. Lord Minto did not appear to know that it had been published.

April 3.—I had a long conversation with Lord Palmerston, who told me some curious things respecting H.M.'s real feeling towards us, which, where foreign, and more especially Austrian,

1849. politics were concerned, was anything but friendly. I observed, "That cannot be helped, we must do our duty irrespective of all personal preference." Palmerston said, "To be sure, it does not signify a pin, after all."

Palmerston thought that Lord John, finding his situation not so agreeable as he expected, had a wish to break up the Government. I confess I sometimes think so too. I ought to have mentioned that Russell told me that, if he resigned, and Stanley insisted upon forcing hard terms on the Queen, he was prepared to return to office and make a hundred peers, to which, under the circumstances, he believed H.M. would consent.

Russell has always spoken to me of H.M. as most fair, and just, and reasonable in all her dealings with him; and, so far as he knows, with others.

April 18.—I called on Lord J. Russell, and we had some conversation on the Queen's mode of dealing with her servants. Russell said he had always found H.M. most just and candid; and he mentioned that, so far from being offended with truth, she was not displeased when he one day told her (after her confessing that she had forgotten the end of a letter to him), that he saw H.M. sometimes forget at the end of her notes what she meant to say. The Queen laughed and said, "That is very true."

April 26.—At House of Commons. Russell introduced his amended Irish Poor-law, which

did not take much, but gave occasion to some violent Irish speeches and altercations between Bright and Sir Winston Barron. Mad Grattan accused Sir R. Peel of wishing to get rid of the Roman Catholic population of Connaught, as if that would be a sin. 1849.

May 6.—Horace Twiss died suddenly on Friday last. Just the sort of man whom the newspapers lament, but I who knew him . . .

The French army has occupied Rome without opposition.[1] The Hungarians have defeated the Austrians. The Russian army is marching to help Austria. Enough for one week!

May 7.—I did not go into the Lords, where the great struggle on the Navigation Bill was going on. I heard the renegade Brougham moved the amendment, protesting that the Repeal of the Navigation Laws had nothing to do with Free Trade. Russell told me he expected this move, as Brougham hoped to be Stanley's Chancellor.

Sir James Graham told me a joke of Russell's, viz. that Brougham ought to be well acquainted with the Navigation Laws, having been so long engaged in the *seal* fisheries!

May 9.—I found by my papers that we had carried the second reading of the Navigation Bill by 173 to 163. Lord Stanley made a most rhetorical speech, ending by an appeal first to the

[1] The Editor remembers a *bon mot* of Lord Palmerston, who, when asked the difference between occupation and business, answered, "The French occupied Rome, and had no business there."

1849. Duke of Wellington, and then to God Almighty, asking the first to vote for him, and the latter to enlighten their Lordships' minds, or some such phrase. If he was as little listened to by the Almighty as he was by the Duke of Wellington, his address was thrown away, for his Grace voted with us!

I dined at W. T. Denison's. Lord Ponsonby, who was amongst the guests, told us he once saw Sheridan drink off a glass of brandy, after which he said, "I am now a match for that damned *clock*," and sat up all night. Ponsonby told us that James Hare was superior to Sheridan in conversation, but failed completely in Parliament.

I afterwards went to a concert at Buckingham Palace, and heard Jenny Lind. I was close to her in the cloak-room downstairs when she went away. They say she is to be married immediately.

May 10.—Dined at Lord Lovelace's. Lady Lovelace is not quite so eccentric in her manner as she was. Her eldest son is to be a sailor, her second a civil engineer—a new profession for a peer's son!

May 11.—Went to an evening party at the Palace—a family dance. H.M. dances a great deal.

I had a few words with Sir R. Peel, who told me his son in Parliament was his second son. I had before given him my little compliment on his son's success, and Peel said, "Yes, what I heard at the end of his speech pleased me." The attentions of the Prince to Peel were most marked.

May 12.—Russell told us that Brougham had been telling a lie about the Duke of Wellington's vote on the Navigation Bill, saying he had given it to prevent the Queen being put to inconvenience by forcing her to delay her journey to Scotland if her Ministers were changed. 1849.

The truth is, Prince Albert did write to the Duke of Wellington, begging him to consider the effect of rejecting the Navigation Bill, which would be to turn out a Government that had preserved the peace of the country in the most troublesome times, and to have a general election when all Europe was, even now, in a most disturbed state, adding that Lord Stanley could not command a majority in the House of Commons, and that consequently the Queen would be put to great inconvenience in selecting a new Cabinet. The Prince wrote this, and on the word *inconvenience* Brougham framed his lie. I use Russell's words.

May 16.—Walking home from India Board Brougham halloed to me and joined me. He was in boisterous spirits, and spoke to half the people he met. Brougham confessed to me that the march of the Russians to the assistance of the Austrian Emperor was to be deplored;[1] but, added he, we must have a police in Europe,

[1] The Austrian Emperor was engaged in a struggle with the Hungarians, under the leadership of Kossuth. The event was doubtful, when the Emperor appealed to the Czar Nicholas for help, and the joint forces—the Russians under Paskiewitsch and the Austrians under Haynau—completely suppressed the rising.

1849. and the Russians must serve for that, as no others will.

May 19.—Queen's birthday kept. Took my daughters to the Drawing-room. The Duke of Wellington was in great spirits, and, seeing the twenty-one Bishops coming out of the Queen's closet, said: "Her Majesty likes to keep her room cool. I wonder how she manages with all those gentlemen in black robes."

Dined at Lord John Russell's. Every one talking of a wicked attempt to shoot the Queen. Lord John was much moved. He had been to the Palace. It so happened he was walking up Constitution Hill when the shot was fired, and he saw the man taken up. Shortly after a message was brought from the Queen desiring to see Lord John.

He gave me privately an account of his interview. H.M. was walking in the palace garden with three of her children; she was perfectly calm, and desired the children to shake hands with him. She told him that since Oxford's attempt she had been in the habit of looking at the people in the Green Park at the corner where the shot was fired, but this time did not do so, and heard the noise and saw the smoke before she saw any one. The Prince came in, and both he and the Queen wished that no notice whatever should be taken of it. They thought the pistol might not have been loaded with ball.

The Queen consulted Lord John about going to the Opera, but as H.M. had not intended to go there this evening, he dissuaded her, and the Prince agreed. 1849.

Russell told me that he occasionally thought that he might himself be shot at, for he walked about at all times and places alone. He spoke very feelingly of this attack. He saw the man, in a workman's dress, but not apparently, as the fellow said, in distress. Ill-looking, his name Hamilton, and said to be an Irishman.

Query—Had the expulsion of W. T. O'Brien, the day before, anything to do with it? The thought suggested itself, both to Russell and myself. We had but a melancholy dinner. Russell forgot to give the Queen's health.

May 21.—Dined at the Turkish Ambassador's (Mehemet Pasha) in Bryanston Square. Russell, Baring, Labouchere, and Palmerston, Mr. Addington of the Foreign Office, and Milner Gibson, were the only English present of all those invited, so His Excellency was obliged to make four of his attachés sit down to table.

He waited three-quarters of an hour for Palmerston, but bore all his disappointments with politeness and patience, and gave us a very handsome dinner in the usual style, except that there was one Turkish dish. He drank wine like the rest of us.

I had some conversation as I sat next to him, but could not get much out of him, except the

1849. age of the Sultan and number of his children, three sons and four daughters. He did not mention his master's wives. Except the red cap there was nothing to distinguish him from a European in a frock-coat without a collar, with white neckcloth and waistcoat.

After dinner he took us into a room fitted up as a smoking-divan, with a small fountain in the middle. An ill-done picture of the Sultan and his monograms were on two sides of the room, and an assortment of amber-headed long pipes over the fire-place. Some young Turks who are pupils at Woolwich joined us, and we then went upstairs, where we found the apartments prettily decorated with crescents and stars, and blazing with wax lights. The rooms were soon filled with ladies—Lady Jersey and her daughter, the Duchess of Bedford, and such personages—and the ball began, being opened by some young Turks. My daughters came and danced. What a change from what I recollect of Turkish manners!

I went into the Lords, where I heard Lord Lansdowne concluding the debate on Lord Stanley's amendment, and was most agreeably surprised when I heard that we had 116 to 103. A victory which decided the Ministerial crisis.

June 2.—Entertained a large party at dinner, amongst whom were the Speaker and Disraeli. Disraeli told my daughter Charlotte that he wished for an earthquake or a revolution, which

might give him a pretext for changing his line of life for pursuits more congenial than politics. 1849.

June 10.—Some friends dined with me : Count Flahaut, his wife and daughter, Lord and Lady Ponsonby, etc.

Flahaut gave us the character of some French Generals with whom he had served. He said that Narbonne, during the Russian campaign, used to appear well-dressed and powdered. I have heard that Flahaut himself never neglected his toilet during that dreadful time.

He spoke of Moreau [1] as a very stupid fellow. He was at Dresden when Moreau was shot, and said Napoleon did not know of the circumstance until the next day. This does not accord with the St. Helena conversations, as I reminded Flahaut.

He said if Napoleon had moved along the main road to Vienna after the battle of Dresden, instead of sending Vandamme to Kulm, the war would have ended by the conquest of Vienna, but the Russians defended the defile, and a Prussian column that was in full retreat came unexpectedly at the back of Vandamme, and dispersed his corps.

June 12.—House of Commons. Found Palmerston speaking on Cobden's motion for settling disputes of nations by arbitration. He spoke

[1] Moreau was banished to America for taking part in the rising of Pichegru and Cadoudal against Napoleon. He returned to take part against the French in the battle of Dresden, where both his legs were shot off. He died of his wounds a few days later in August 1813.

1849. admirably and exposed the folly of the scheme completely, but in a way not to offend his opponents, who cheered him repeatedly.

Milner Gibson followed Palmerston in a speech which gave a picture of the horrors of the late battles in India; as if anybody denied that war carried ruin, and cruelty, and bloodshed.

June 13.—Dined at Lord Minto's with Cabinet; but we had little or no talk, except about the passing of the Navigation Law Repeal Bill the day before in the House of Lords. The numbers were 9 to 23; and so this great measure has become law!

June 16.—I entertained a large party, I believe two hundred, of all sorts and sizes, from the Duke of Wellington, the Speaker, and Miss Coutts, down to ——. It is the first time I ever opened my house in the evening!

June 23.—Dined with my daughter at Lord Jersey's. I took in Lady Bulwer (Sir Henry's wife, daughter of Lord Cowley), and found her a pleasing person. She was in Paris in February 1848. She told me that when the disturbances broke out first they were despised; nobody seemed to think there was the least doubt of their being put down speedily.

There was an assembly, really small and early; and, as we knew most of the guests, it was very agreeable. Brougham and Lyndhurst were there. My daughter, Charlotte, came to this party, and was, I think, much admired!

July 6.—At House of Commons, where the adjourned debate on Disraeli's State of the Nation came on. Peel, who was expected to speak (for I saw Mr. Sam Lloyd in the gallery), made a long speech of more than two hours, defending his Free Trade policy, and not saying a word either good or bad about the Government. He treated the Protectionists like children, and when Newdegate questioned some quotation, handed him the book, saying, "Here it is, perhaps you may learn something by it." He assured them he did not feel at all angry with them, but he made them very angry with him. 1849.

Russell spoke at the close of the debate, but not in his best manner. Indeed, Peel had left but little to say. Disraeli made a most lively and spirited reply, attacking Peel for his conduct and for his speech, ridiculing Charles Wood, whom he compared to a conjurer pulling yards of red tape out of his mouth, and not sparing Russell. He declared that he meant this to be a vote of no confidence, and wished to test the honesty of those Peelites who abused Ministers in private and supported them in public. His concluding sentence summed up all our delinquencies, financial, commercial, colonial, and foreign, and he sat down in a storm of applause about half-past two.

We had no notion what the division would be, and were greatly surprised to find that we had a majority of 296 to 156.

1849. *August* 1.—Parliament prorogued. The Speaker told me that the House had got through an incredible deal of business. One Bill of 278 clauses—the Bankrupt Law Consolidation Bill—went through committee. A great year! Free Trade has done wonders for us.

Russell and I and a few others shook hands with the Speaker, and broke away. Thus ended a session which the *Times* confesses was quiet and effective, and even the *Chronicle* rather lauds.

. . . . .

August 18.—I went with my two eldest daughters on a visit to the Isle of Wight; thence to the Channel Islands. Alas, alas! I was overpersuaded by my daughters!

August 30.—My eldest daughter was taken ill while we were staying at Guernsey, where, as we found too late, cholera was raging, as it was indeed in London. Thinking it not safe to remain in Guernsey, we took passage for Southampton, thence went on to Erle Stoke; but my dear daughter was very ill, and my dreadful anxieties began![1]

. . . . .

October 1.—I had a letter from Lord John

[1] Lord Broughton's eldest daughter, Julia Hay, died of cholera, contracted in the Channel Islands, on September 5, 1849. This was the second of the two great calamities which befel Hobhouse, mentioned on p. 33, vol. v. There is no record in the Diary of this fatal month!

Russell, saying that, painful as it would be, he must ask me to be at the Cabinet next day. 1849.

October 2.—I went to the Cabinet. I will say nothing of my sufferings; they were met by a kindness I shall never forget, particularly by Lord John.

December 5.—During our last Cabinet Meetings we have discussed some of the measures intended to be introduced next session. When we came to our Irish Poor-law, and talked of the various plans for alleviating the burdens on land, the usual difference of opinion and confusion arose.

The great question seemed to be how to get rid of the debt incurred by the Government advances. Some were for putting off the payment, others for selling a portion of the land to the State, and then reselling it to other proprietors. It was obvious to me that this latter plan, by bringing a great quantity of land into the market at once, would render the measure all but nugatory; but I did not like to say so, only whispered it to the Chancellor, who said I was quite right, especially as our Encumbered Estates Bill would naturally have a similar tendency.

CHAPTER XVII

1850. LONDON. *January* 26.—The Queen's Speech considered paragraph by paragraph, as usual. The allusion to the agricultural distress occasioned a good deal of talk. Lord Lansdowne and Carlisle did not think it sufficiently plaintive and kind to the owners and occupiers of land, when compared with the congratulations on the flourishing condition of the trading and general community.

Russell said he had written the passage advisedly. He did not wish it to be said, the landlords and farmers are in great distress—that is the great national calamity. To be sure the people generally are pretty well off, but that is a small consideration. He would rather have it exactly the other way. The people are prospering, although the farmers and landlords complain. Sir Charles Wood agreed with Russell, and mentioned several proofs of the improvement even of the agricultural classes. Charles Wood said that if Government was asked what remedy they proposed for the distress he should tell his remedy,—an additional loan.

The speech concluded with recommending an adherence to all the good in the present Con-

stitution, and an amendment of defects, and thanking Heaven we have not suffered as much as our neighbours from revolution. 1850.

I cannot say that I liked the Speech. I thought it too long—promised too much, and contained too much debatable matter; but I was in no humour or spirit to make general objections, and if I had they would in all probability not have been attended to!

Palmerston read us some despatches from America regarding the proceedings of Congress about commercial relaxation. It seems the American Government has a very uncertain majority in the House of Representatives, and a most certain majority *against* it in the Senate. The similarity of the two Cabinets in this respect caused a general laugh.

Lord Lansdowne told me to-day an amusing anecdote of the late Lord Radnor. The manager of the British Institution wrote to him to ask leave to exhibit a Sir Joshua Reynolds of his, a portrait of one of his family. Lord Radnor readily assented, but said that he must send *seven* other portraits of Bouveries with it, as if he did not wish to be partial to one of his family more than the others.

January 31.—Went to the House of Commons, where Charles Villiers, the mover of the Address, was still speaking, and dilating on the benefits of Free Trade. Disraeli came over and sat by me. He spoke of the Protectionist party as his,

1850. and told me he had had a numerous and obedient muster of them at Lord Stanley's. Whilst he was talking to me, Lord John Russell received Lord Strafford's report of our probable majority in the Lords, and I told Disraeli, who said he did not care a fig for that House.

Peel, Graham, and all the principal men of that party, except Lord Lincoln, were present, but not one of them rose to speak. Disraeli told me "the elderly gentleman" (Peel, as so called in the *Times*) would speak, and he would answer Peel.

February 9.—I dined at the Speaker's. Sat next to Edward Ellice, who has been in Paris lately. He gave me an unpromising picture of Louis Napoleon, and said that if he tried a *coup d'état* he would have the army against him, and be sent to Vincennes. Ellice lived chiefly with Thiers and Molé, who both of them abuse the President, but say they are for giving him a fair trial. Ellice told me that there was a great deal of society in Paris, but the better sort will not frequent the President, except Normanby.

February 21.—House of Commons. Debate on Disraeli's motion for relieving the land from certain charges of the Poor-law Establishment to the amount of about two millions.

Peel spoke strongly against the motion, but he complimented Disraeli, and on the whole did not do so well as usual, particularly in the latter part of his speech, in which he made a laboured

defence of his Free Trade changes in 1842 and 1846, and complained of Lord Henry Bentinck having attributed his policy to his having three times more property in the funds than in land. When Peel sat down a great many left the House, but Russell rose and persevered in speaking to a noisy audience. 1850.

Lord Henry Bentinck now came in front and repeated the charges he had made about Peel's property, asking him if a good deal of it was not in mortgages!!! and reminding him that his father had prophesied he would ruin the country. There was much yelling at this, but Bentinck persevered in spite of Disraeli and Lord J. Manners, who tried to keep him silent. Peel said a few words in a low tone denying that his property was in mortgages!

Disraeli concluded the debate in one of the ablest speeches of the sort I ever heard. Russell and Palmerston and Graham confessed to me that it was very clever indeed. We divided about 1 o'clock. To the surprise of all, friends and foes, we had a majority of only *twenty-one*!!! The Protectionists set up a shout, as well they might, but they seemed overpowered by their success, and did not cheer so much as usual. Our friends looked foolish enough.

March 1.—Dined at the Palace. The Duke of Wellington introduced Lord Gough to me. He is a much better-looking man than his pictures. His hair and mustachios very white,

1850. but he looks fresh and active. He has pleasing manners. Sir R. Peel there, more cold and awkward than ever, his wife with him; young Lord Mulgrave, Baron Stockmar, the Lord-in-waiting, Byron, and the ladies of the household, made up the party. I could not help smiling inwardly, when I recollected the alarm we were all in this time last year; and what the Duke, and the Queen, and the Prince had said to me of Lord Gough. The Duke, indeed, did not address many words to Lord Gough, even when the Queen was gone, but spoke to him more in the drawing-room. When the Prince and the men went into the gallery to join the Queen, Her Majesty, as usual, went round and spoke to all. She spoke some time to Lord Gough and the Duke of Wellington, and then came to me and talked a good deal. Her Majesty was in high spirits, and asked after *her big diamond*.[1] She then went to Sir Robert Peel, and talked

[1] After the final defeat of the Sikhs at Gujerat in 1849, the Punjab was incorporated in the British Empire, and the Koh-i-noor was, in token of submission, presented by the Maharajah to the Queen. Lord Dalhousie, in transmitting the jewel, wrote to H.M. as follows: "It is narrated, on the authority of Fugueer-ood-deen, who is now at Lahore, and who was himself the messenger, that Runjeet Singh sent a message to Wufa Begum, the wife of Shah Sooja, from whom he had taken the gem, to ask her its value. She replied, "If a strong man were to throw four stones, one north, one south, one east, one west, and a fifth stone up into the air, and if the space between them were to be filled with gold, all would not equal the value of the Koh-i-noor." The Fugueer, thinking probably that the appraisement was somewhat imaginative, subsequently asked Shah Sooja the same question. The Shah replied that its value was "good fortune; for whoever possessed it had conquered their enemies." — *Letters of Queen Victoria*, ii. 287.

with him a long time, and took him up the gallery to show him a picture. 1850.

The Prince came to me, and we had a long conversation. He then took me to look at the picture that the Queen had shown to Sir R. Peel, a modern Belgian imitation of a Flemish game picture. He complained to me of the unnecessary price put on bad English pictures, and laughed at the wretched collection now at the British Institution.

March 2.—Lord Gough came to see me. He gave me a good account of the Punjab, but told me that Major Edwardes could tell me all I wanted to know. He was exceedingly frank and open, and at last touched on Chillianwalla, saying the finger of God was merciful there, for had not the rain poured down in torrents he should have pursued the enemy and retaken the guns and driven them beyond the Jhelum; but then they would have dispersed and would have infested the whole country. As it was Chutter Sing joined Shere Sing, the Mooltan force joined him, and the war was finished in a single pitched battle.

April 6.—The more I read Byron, the more I am struck by his great powers of versification, illustration, and description; but he had only one character, and, generally speaking, one set and complexion of ideas. As Macaulay said long ago, he had but one hero in all his poems.

May 8. — A few friends dined with me. Stephenson was very amusing. He said he heard

1850 the late Duke of Cleveland once say, when Virgil was mentioned, "Virgil? Where did he live?"

May 30.—I went to the new House of Commons, where we had our first experimental sitting. Great complaints made of it in every respect by almost everybody. I could not hear a word except when a dead silence prevailed. Peel was there, and shifted his quarters several times, as if trying the House.

May 31.—Young Stanley made his maiden speech this night. It was very good for a first effort, but his voice and manner are bad. He was complimented by Hutt, Palmerston, and others, and I saw Peel draw him up and shake him by the hand.

June 4.—Poulett Scrope did this evening what I never recollect hearing a member do, *i.e.* quote a passage from a pamphlet written by himself. I have heard a debater defend himself, when reference has been made to something he had said previously, but not volunteer a quotation from his own works. Scrope is a coxcomb, but a good man.

June 7.—House of Commons. Russell in the Speaker's room sent Charles Wood to ask the correct reading of the epigram:

"The King to Oxford sent a troop of his."

I happened to recollect the lines, and Russell said to me afterwards, "I thought *you* would remember." He seldom compliments anybody, and the other day, when I was talking of Canning

as President of the India Board, and added, but "Canning was a different man," he said, "He was." True enough, certainly, but Russell might have remembered that the speeches which Canning made when he was President were all, or nearly all, made against reform, and in support of Castlereagh's and Liverpool's Seditious Meetings and gagging Bills. He might also have recollected that Canning was the best, if not the only, speaker of eminence on the Treasury Bench, whereas Russell does not want the help of any one, and if he did he has Palmerston, so that a President of the India Board *need* not be a debater, though to be sure he ought to speak occasionally on miscellaneous subjects, which I do not. However, I transact three or four times as much business in turn as was transacted in the days of Canning, although I hear that he did what was to be done very sedulously. 1850.

Waterfield[1] was appointed by him, and told me that Canning kept away from the office for some time before he spoke in Parliament, and was presumed to write all his speeches. The reports of most of them seem to have been corrected by himself.

June 17.—The chief interest this evening was in the Lords, where Stanley moved his resolution censuring Ministers for their policy in regard to Greece. I heard part of Lord Lansdowne's answer, which was very good. Palmerston stood

[1] The Chief Clerk.

1850. under the Throne the whole time. We were beaten by 37!

June 18.—At Cabinet to-day Lord John Russell called our attention to the result of the debate in the Lords, and we had a very serious consultation. Russell gave his opinion at once that a resolution of the Lords ought not to decide the fate of a Government, but he said he wished Lord Lansdowne and Lord Palmerston to state their views. Lord Lansdowne said his position in the Lords had long been disagreeable, and would be unbearable under the vote of last night, unless some countermove were made in the Commons. At the same time, he did not think the Government should give way at once to a vote in the Lords.

Palmerston said there was one obvious course, not for Government to resign, but for himself to retire, and this he said more than once. Lord Grey said the retirement of Palmerston was out of the question, and we all agreed. At last we settled that the vote of the Lords should not induce the Government to alter its policy, but that if the Commons agreed in that vote, the course of the Government would be obvious.

I saw Sheil to-day, who told me some amusing anecdotes. When Peel was Secretary for Ireland, a Judge (Moore) had said to him (Sheil) "That young Peel must be a very ignorant fellow; he does not know that I have a son in the Church." Sheil told this to Peel last year. He was much amused by it.

Sheil said he was of the miscellaneous party at Peel's the other day, when Peel read a complimentary letter from the Queen to Lady Peel, complimenting her on her son's speech. 1850.

June 25.—House of Commons. Heard Roebuck move his resolution approving of the Foreign Policy of the Government. Palmerston rose at ten to ten, and then made that which, on the whole, I am inclined to think the most effective and extraordinary speech I ever heard in my life. He spoke four hours and forty minutes, the first two hours without looking at a note, and indeed, all his notes were but single words, or hints, written on a half-sheet of paper. He had small bundles of paper with him, but did not quote very frequently. Two oranges and a glass of water were brought to him, but he touched neither of them. He overthrew Graham and all his opponents, both in the Lords and Commons, but without saying an uncivil word, and continued in the most masterly way to allude to the base cabal against himself by denying that Guizot had fallen a victim to any such foreign conspiracy, and saying that the gallant French nation would not endure any such interference.

His concluding sentences were prepared, but came in naturally and most forcibly, and when he sat down there was a burst of applause from all parts of the House, which I thought would never end. I was sitting next to him, and put my arm round his shoulder and squeezed it with

1850. delight. Russell, who was next on the other side, expressed his admiration strongly, so did Roebuck and others who crowded round him.

Though it was half-past two in the morning, the House was very full, and had listened without a murmur to his whole defence. It was a noble effort—better than eloquence, truth in strong language, not over-polished yet very accurate; a long, well-connected arrangement of facts, interspersed with reflections which, although not absolutely new, were most adroitly applied, and sounded like original conceptions, such, for example, as what he said "of the two sorts of revolutionists." I could have listened hours longer, yet, strange to say, both Peel and Russell fell asleep, and continued so for an hour at least.

June 26.—Every one in admiration at Palmerston's speech. Dined at Sir Francis Baring's Cabinet dinner. We gave a cheer when Palmerston came in—last as usual.

June 28.—We divided on Roebuck's resolution at the House of Commons, 310 against 264. Our friends gave a tremendous shout, which lasted a minute or more, and thus ended this great struggle to upset Palmerston, and with him the Whig Government.

At our Cabinet meeting we were all in great spirits and Russell began business with, "I suppose we need not resign."

June 29.—Heard Sir Robert Peel had had a bad

fall from his horse, and on coming home I sent to inquire after him. The answer was, "He is as well as could be expected." 1850.

July 1.—Called to inquire after Sir Robert Peel. The answer was, he was better. An immense number of persons of all parties and all classes called to inquire in the course of the day, and there was much anxiety about him in the House of Commons.

July 2.—I called again on Sir Robert Peel. Coming away I met Sidney Herbert, who told me he felt great alarm for the result. An internal injury had certainly been inflicted either by the fall or the horse falling on him. Sidney Herbert and myself talked of his merits. He said that Peel had filled a great place in the public stages, and agreed with me that those of his acts which were the most questionable were dictated by a most conscientious sense of duty.

July 3.—The death of Sir Robert Peel announced in all the papers with very much of deep regret. I had a note from the Queen which concluded, "The Queen is sure Sir John Hobhouse will partake of the great grief she feels at the death of Sir Robert Peel; so excellent a man, and so great a statesman.

I went to the Levee, which was exceedingly full. Before it began I saw the Duke of Wellington in the inner room, sitting alone in a window-seat, leaning on his hands and looking pensively into the garden as the royal procession entered the

1850. gates. He was more than usually grave, and, when I went up to speak to him, held my hand some time in his and spoke with great kindness. He was evidently much affected; so were Lord John Russell and Lord Lansdowne. Whilst the reception was going on we heard that Hume had adjourned the House of Commons, no Minister being present—an impertinence quite worthy of the man.

I returned to Buckingham Palace later in the day, and had some talk with the Queen on the death of Sir Robert Peel. Her Majesty described it as a great national calamity, and said that the party who used to obey and be restrained by him in Parliament, would be unmanageable without him. The Prince joined in this sentiment, and said some of them were reckless, and it would be difficult to keep them from doing mischief. I confessed that the loss of Sir Robert Peel would add greatly to the difficulties, not only of the present Government, but of any Ministers, and added what I felt, that his conduct to Lord John Russell's Government had been past all praise. To this the Queen assented, and spoke of his private virtues, and how much he gained upon those who, at first, were not pleased with his address. I said he was a reserved man, and did not encourage the first approaches of any one, but I had understood that he was most amiable amongst his intimate friends and family. The Queen and Prince said this was quite true, they

had seen it, and H.M. was much moved when she said this. I told the Queen he was most devoted to her service and person, and sincerely attached to the best interests of his country. H.M. said, "That, indeed he was." 1850.

July 4.—Sir George Grey adjourned the House of Commons, and, alluding to Peel's death, was so much affected that he could not speak. Russell paid a tribute to the memory of Peel in very just and not overcharged terms.

The House behaved in a very becoming manner; many of the members were in black, and some took off their hats when Russell began his speech. Graham was overwhelmed with grief, and cried bitterly. He and Hardinge had attended the death-bed of their friend.

July 7.—The *Examiner* is in mourning, and like all the papers, has a long panegyric on Sir Robert Peel. A good deal of the praise on this occasion is just, but some of it may be attributed rather to dislike of the living than love of the dead.

> "Mistake him not, he envies, not admires,
> And to debase the sons exalts the sires."

I shall one day or the other attempt to put on paper what I think of this much-lamented man. At present I shall only say, *felix opportunitate mortis*, for a longer career could hardly have added to, and might have diminished, his reputation.

July 13.—Heard that Peel has left an injunction

1850. that his family shall not be ennobled on account of his services. I had some conversation with Palmerston and Carlisle on this, and both of them rather condemned it, as arising either from pride or from dislike of his eldest son. Lord Douro, a very different man from Carlisle or Palmerston, attributed it to exactly the same motives.

The Queen offered a peerage to Lady Peel, who declined it partly in consequence of this injunction, and partly because she wished to retain the title by which she had been known whilst her husband lived. Some will attribute Peel's injunction to a deliberate desire to depreciate the House of Lords.

Lady Jersey told several persons that her father knew no one after his accident except Lady Peel. He mentioned Graham's name, and Graham was sent for, but Peel did not recognise him.

August 18.—Cabinet. Lord John Russell said he had to draw our attention to a very important matter, viz. the state of the House of Lords. It was clear, he said, that Lord Stanley was prepared for very desperate measures, and could throw out any Bills which had passed the Commons by any majority, however large, if he happened not to like them. He had got nearly the whole of the Scottish Peerage, and the Irish representative Peerage were ready to elect men of Tory principles at all vacancies.

Lord Stanley showed his determination to make

the Lords thoroughly Tory by going so far as even to object to proxies because they had occasionally favoured the Whigs, but Russell did not think the Peers would consent to abolish one of their own valuable privileges. Something, however, ought to be done if it was worth while to have the country governed on Whig principles, and if it was worth while to prevent a collision between the two Houses. The Queen objected exceedingly to creating more peers, and he (Lord John Russell) had not added one to the Peerage since he came in. There were no more Peers now than in 1846, but he saw no objection to making Peers for life, especially military and judicial, or professional Peers, and he had drawn up a memorandum on the subject, which he had sent to the Prince, merely for consideration, not as a Cabinet proposal. The Prince had written a minute upon it, rather approving than otherwise, and he understood the Queen not to be averse. 1850.

There was no doubt the Queen could, by her prerogative, create Peers for life. He had consulted Lord Cottenham on this point, who had objected to the scheme, but did not question its legality. Anything almost was preferable to running the chance of being obliged to do what King William consented to allow Lord Grey to do, viz. to create a hundred or any number of Peers at once, or in lieu of that to persuade the Opposition Peers, as King William did, through Sir Herbert Taylor and the Duke of Wellington, to absent

1850. themselves from Parliament. Russell therefore begged us to turn over the matter in our minds before we met again.

Lord Grey said that nothing could be worse than the present condition of the House of Lords. It had sunk very much in public opinion, chiefly owing to the conduct and manners of Lord Brougham. Lord Lansdowne agreed the Government could not well go on with the present House of Lords, but he said nothing about the remedy. The Lord Chancellor said there was no doubt about the Queen's prerogative, but the propriety of the measure was another thing.

No one, however, said anything very decided against it except myself, who said that in my opinion it would entirely alter the character of the House of Lords, and, *pro tanto*, change the constitution of the country. I did not agree with Lord Grey that the House of Lords had sunk in public estimation. People were quite as eager to belong to it as ever, except men of a very high ambition, and even they always spoke with respect of the Peerage. Labouchere privately said to me in the House of Commons afterwards, "I don't like Russell's scheme for the life Peerages at all." This comes of Stanley's violence; because he is reckless, we must be rash also.

August 27.—Read of the death of Louis Philippe at Claremont, one of the many instances that a man may live too long. What a different judgment posterity would have formed of him and

Guizot too, and many others, if he had died three years ago! 1850.

November 11.—Breakfasted with Macaulay in the Albany. Charles Greville, Lord Carlisle, C. Howard, and Sir R. Murchison also there. We had a very agreeable talk. Macaulay was overpoweringly eloquent and illustrative on every subject.

He tried to show that there was a wide difference between the miracles of Transubstantiation and the miracles of Christ, and quoted the famous passage of Tillotson. C. Greville said that faith was the basis of both, and that the raising of Lazarus was as much contrary to the common evidence of our senses as the change of the elements into Christ's body. Macaulay replied that the parallel required that Lazarus, instead of obeying the divine command and coming forth, should stay rotting in his grave offending the eyes and noses of all bystanders, and yet all these bystanders should believe him to be there, and there alive. Still, Greville contended that great and absurd as such a miracle would be, it might be believed if only faith were brought to bear upon it. I thought Greville right, and of course I quoted Hume on Tillotson's arguments, and we kept up this talk some time. Lord Carlisle rather inclined to Macaulay, and told me I should soon turn Catholic.

I knew a good many of the things which Macaulay told us, but had little wish and less power to introduce my learning, for my host

1850. talked so well and so fast, it was impossible to get a word in.

December 24.—Lord Douro, who is staying with me at Erle Stoke, mentioned to-day one or two very characteristic sayings of his father.

The Duke of Wellington slept soundly, and never turned in his bed, saying when a man turns *round* it is time for him to turn *out*.

Thackeray, the author of "Pendennis," is also staying with me. He is a most agreeable man, very tall and big, with a broken nose, and always wears spectacles. He gave my daughter a specimen of his power of sketching by making a frontispiece to "Pendennis" in pen and ink.

He spoke of his literary labours without reserve, and said he lived on them. He is going to America to give lectures on English literature or to write a book.

CHAPTER XVIII

January 17.—Cabinet. Russell read to us his 1851
scheme for enlarging the basis of county and some town constituencies. We all listened quietly at first, but then one after the other made objections, not so much to the particular plan, as to the time and circumstances under which such a proposal was to be made. Russell said if he could be assured the Cabinet would agree to such a measure next year, he should have an answer to give any inquirer, but he had no reason to think we should agree with him next year. Lord Grey said he should be sorry to bring in any Reform Bill next year or any year, though he saw no particular objection to the plan itself, yet it would unsettle men's minds and create disorder of all kinds. As for this year, we had the Great Exhibition, and the Papal Aggression—quite enough excitement of themselves. At last Russell said, as there were grounds for not bringing it forward this year, *e.g.* the great concourse of foreigners at the Exhibition, he had no objection to defer it.

I was much struck by this second proposal of an organic change, without any apparent

1851. necessity, except the unfounded expectations of some weak men may be called a necessity.

February 8.—I met the Duke of Bedford—he showed me a curious letter (in copy) of Peel's describing the overwhelming labours of a Prime Minister, and concluding that one of two results was inevitable: either some arrangement for diminishing his duties, or loss of reason! The letter was written when he was last in office, and addressed to a friend who had complained to him of his neglect to answer some letter.

Eastlake once told me a story of Peel. He was a member of the Dilettanti Society, and was so disgusted with the inaugural ceremony, and being told to bow lower and lower, that he never attended a second meeting. I never heard this before, but Palmerston said, "It is just like him."

February 11.—House of Commons. Heard the last hour of Disraeli's speech on Agricultural Distress. He gave us protection, but, as the *Times* observed, his remedy of removing taxation from the owners and occupiers of land to the shoulders of others was but protection in another form.

February 15.—I found a letter on my table from Lord John Russell telling me he thought he might strengthen the Government by asking a certain distinguished statesman to accept my office, and that, if I would place it at his disposal, he would recommend me to H.M. for a Peerage,

and wishing me to retain my seat in the Cabinet. 1851
The letter was couched in the most friendly terms, and concluded with a high compliment to the manner in which I had discharged the duties of my office.

I thought it advisable to lose no time in announcing to Lord John that myself and my office were at his disposal. I did this in a letter which, I think, was not unbecoming the occasion. I only said I had not hesitated about the matter, and that I thought the statesman in question would be a great acquisition to the Government. At Cabinet Lord John thanked me for my letter, saying and repeating, "It is very good of you."

February 19.—Received a very friendly note from Lord John Russell, telling me that my offer had been declined. He added that he had proposed to the Queen that, in case we remained in office, a Peerage should be offered to me during the session, and, if we resigned, the same offer to be made when we went out. To this H.M. *graciously and at once* assented, and then Russell added, "I cannot conclude without thanking you, on my own part, for the kindness and generosity of your conduct."

February 20.—House of Commons. Disraeli, with the Protectionists, moved off almost in a body, leaving Locke King to fight his battle with Government for £10 franchise in counties. Russell answered Locke King, saying that he should himself bring forward a measure of reform

1851. early next session. The majority against us, however, was 48. Russell gave no signs of disappointment, nor did any one appear to think that there would be any serious result.

February 21.—At Cabinet Russell said, "I have a very serious matter to bring before you," and then announced that, after the majority of 100 to 52 the night before, even after he had announced his intention of bringing forward a plan of reform next session, it was quite clear he had lost the confidence of the House of Commons, and ought not to carry on the Government, and he added, "I cannot go on."

Later in the day I received a letter from Lord John telling me the Queen quite approved of my having the offer of a Peerage, and that, if I accepted it, to tell him what title I chose.

I wrote a note accepting the Peerage, and choosing the title of Broughton of Broughton de Gyfford, in the County of Wilts.

February 22.—Went to Lady Palmerston's; found the Peerage generally known. I received many kind congratulations. Lord C. J. Campbell seemed most pleased, and one or two whispered to me, "Well deserved."

This is pleasant enough, but what will the "general" say? I cannot help what they say. I feel I have done nothing wrong, and, though a contrast will perhaps be made between the noble pride of Sir R. Peel and my vulgar ambition, I am not afraid of the judgment of right-minded

and impartial men, when the facts of the case are known. 1851.

I did not ask for this. I accepted it, not for the sake of being in the House of Lords, but of being in Parliament. I should not have secured this otherwise. I cannot stand for a county—I am a Free Trader; I could not be a candidate for a large town constituency—I am not a Radical; nor for a small constituency, for I will not repeat my Nottingham delinquencies; I could not be again returned for Harwich on the honourable terms of the last election. A dissolution would have left me in private life; to avoid this I go to the House of Lords, where I may not be altogether useless to my party and my country!

February 24.—It appears that Graham and Lord Aberdeen have made up their minds not to join Russell, who this very morning had been in communication with them after Stanley had, on Saturday, informed the Queen he was not then prepared to form a Government. Russell, when he addressed the House, did not know of Graham's and Aberdeen's refusal; and accordingly, in a short speech, informed the House of the failure of Stanley, and of his being engaged in reconstructing the Cabinet. Disraeli denied the correctness of Russell's statement that Stanley was not *then* prepared to form a Government, and did this so abruptly that he was obliged afterwards to apologise for his manners by saying he was unwell at the time.

1851. In the evening of this day I received a Cabinet box from Lord John Russell saying that Graham and Aberdeen had refused to join the Government. So two attempts to form a Government have failed since Saturday morning, or rather Lord Stanley would not accept the commissions until others had tried and not succeeded; and Lord John Russell did try, and failed.

February 26.—I dined at Lord Chancellor Truro's with all the late Cabinet but Lord Minto. We had a most agreeable dinner. Russell told us that the Duke of Wellington, speaking to him of Disraeli's interruption on Monday, said, "The Jew boy's harp is out of tune." Lord Lansdowne remarked that this joke ought to be recorded in the book that gives the jokes of men who never make but one in their lives.

Russell said Castlereagh had made one joke. After Wallace had been making a long, tiresome speech on the timber duties, Castlereagh, going over Westminster Bridge, met a wagon loaded with timber, and said to some one, "There is Wallace's speech going to the printers."

February 27.—Received a box from Lord John Russell, which contained the following letter from Prince Albert to Russell:

"Lord Stanley has just left the Queen, having resigned into her hands the task which he had undertaken to form a Government. Now all possible combinations have failed in their turn. 1st, you declare your inability to carry on the

Government on account of the hostility displayed against it in Parliament. 2nd, Lord Stanley has declined forming a Government until every other possibility of (doing without) his party should have been exhausted. 3rd, You have failed to reconstruct the Government by a combination with Sir R. Peel's friends. 4th, Lord Aberdeen did not think it possible to form a Government with his friends alone. 5th, Lord Stanley has failed to construct a Government by a junction of some of Sir R. Peel's friends, or out of his party alone. 1851.

"The Queen hopes that the cause which has led to all these failures will be fully explained in Parliament to-morrow evening, and by the statements which have to be made the position of parties will be clearly defined, as well as their opinions on the difficult questions which have led to this crisis, and which are still unsolved. She would therefore wish to pause before she again entrusts the commission of forming a Government to any one, till she has been able to see the result of to-morrow evening's debate.

"Do you see any constitutional objection to this course?

"Ever yours truly,

"ALBERT."

There was a note by Lord John Russell in reply, saying he would consult his colleagues the next morning.

February 28.—Cabinet. Russell told me the Queen had now resolved to send for the Duke of Wellington and ask his advice. This relieved us from a great difficulty, and she desired to see Lord Lansdowne this morning. The Lord Chancellor remarked that there were grave

1851. objections to the Queen waiting for opinions in Parliament without an adviser.

Drove to the House of Lords to take my seat. The usual ceremonies were gone through. Lord Lansdowne then presented his paper, and proceeded to make his statement of late transactions. He made an admirable speech, and, accustomed as I have been for thirty years and more to public and parliamentary speaking, I do not think I ever heard a more appropriate address to the assembly whom it was his business to conciliate and inform. The audience was quite new to me, but I felt at once that Lord Lansdowne was the master of it.

There is, doubtless, a great advantage in a speaker talking to those who pay respectful attention to a man who is stating his own case—an advantage not enjoyed by Lord John Russell, who was telling the same truths to my old associates, interrupted occasionally by cries of "Oh! oh!"

Lord Aberdeen followed Lord Lansdowne in a sort of lumbering speech which disappointed me. He said a great deal too much of our Anti-papal Bill, and decried it far beyond its demerits.

Lord Stanley then rose. He made a speech not quite equal to that which I had been inclined to expect of him, but it was fair enough—not quite fair, but gave a most true and lamentable picture of the state of his own party.

March 3.—Cabinet. All the late Cabinet there.

Russell opened the question by stating that the 1851.
Duke of Wellington had recommended the Queen to take back her Cabinet. The Queen told Lord John Russell that the Duke said to her: "Is your Majesty dissatisfied with your Ministers?"

"No," replied the Queen.

Said the Duke: "Then you had better keep them."

Russell continued. He thought our return to office inevitable. As to the terms of it, they were pretty much what he stated verbally to the Queen. Lord Grey objected decidedly to our being a mere Provisional Government, working for others; it would deprive us of all character and all energy. I did not join in this objection, and said that the present circumstances of the country were most critical, and we ought to consent to some sacrifice of self-love and dignity to prevent mischief, although I confessed it was difficult to keep seats warm for successors. After some more discussion, Lord John again urged the necessity of making an attempt to go on with the Government, and it was settled he might read his paper to the Queen as the basis of our return.

March 6.—Went to a Levee. Had a conversation with the Duke of Wellington. He said we should have Napier home soon. The Napiers were all clever, but troublesome, and all looked on things from a party or personal point of view. For example, our Indian Commander-in-Chief always talked of Lord Hardinge's general order

1851. and Lord Ellenborough's general order. "Whereas," said the Duke, "*I* never ask whose order it is, but only know it by the subject and the date." He said William Napier, the historian, was the cleverest, but very perverse.

March 7.—Went to a small party at the Palace. H.M. in very good spirits. After coffee was handed round, the Queen rose and came towards me, making signs for me to approach. I did so, and she then smiled and put out her right hand for me to kiss. She then began to talk very unreservedly of the late crisis. She made no complaints of any one, but laughed much when she mentioned that Sir James Graham and Lord Aberdeen had told her, on declining to join Lord John or to form a Government themselves, that they were "unfortunately the most unpopular men in England." I could not help remarking that at least they could not be reckoned so unfortunate, seeing that they had been honoured by H.M.'s confidence. . . . There was a marked satisfaction in H.M.'s and the Prince's manner to me, in consequence, I presume, of what Lord John had told of my readiness to give up my office.

March 13.—At House of Lords' Committee. Brougham complained of the misconduct of certain collectors of Income-tax, on which Lord Lansdowne said he hoped to live to see the day when there would be no more collectors, and no more tax.

March 23.—On Monday last I breakfasted with Macaulay, and met there Mr. Hallam, Thackeray, etc. 1851.

Hallam, as usual, spoilt all he said by his pronunciation. He was in deep mourning for his son, whom I knew and liked, and I was much shocked to find, after I had said something disparaging of Tennyson's poetry, that our Poet-Laureate was a great friend of young Hallam, and that his poem, "In Memoriam," is dedicated to the memory of that friend.

March 26.—At Levee. The Duke of Wellington told me that Sir Charles Napier's father was a fine-looking man, and stood for the portrait of the Grenadier in the death of Wolfe. He was also a Guardsman, and left the house of the Duke of Richmond, his father-in-law, in a huff. The Duke said that Charles Napier, the Admiral, was a very odd fellow. . . .

He said he had seen General Sir Charles Napier, but had no talk with him on his Indian squabbles; if he had he should have advised him to be silent. "He was the luckiest fellow in the world, but spoilt all his fortunes by his folly." The Duke added, "If he wants my opinion of his conduct I shall give it by saying that I accepted his resignation, which was enough to show what I thought."

Sir C. Napier was at the Levee, but passed the Ministers without looking at us. Alfred Montgomery told me that Prince Albert put out his

1851. hand three times to him, but Napier did not or would not see it. Of course *he did not see it.*

I had some talk with Lord Lyndhurst, who complimented me on the Peerage, but rather uncomfortably, for he said it was a very honourable termination of my career. It may be something like the *commencement de la fin,* but not quite the end, I hope.

April 1.—House of Lords. Lord Grey would get up and attack the House of Commons Committee in the strongest language, and he had the ill luck to allude to the Duke of Wellington having proclaimed martial law, and having occasion to censure the mode in which his officers sometimes carried it out. The Duke, who was sitting at his usual place at the table, with his ear in his hand, misheard Lord Grey, and thought he had compared the two cases, whereupon he rose, and, going to the opposite side of the table, spoke very vehemently, rapping the box and stammering out his notions of martial law, which he said, truly enough, was no law at all. I felt quite sorry at the exhibition. The Peers behind him tittered and cheered, and Clanricarde whispered to me, "Poor old man! is this the first time you ever saw this exhibition?"

April 9.—Dined at the Mansion House, the dinner given to H.M.'s Ministers. We were well received—that is, Russell, and Palmerston better still. Lord Aberdeen, in returning thanks for the House of Peers, paid a compliment to Overstone

and myself, saying that the Peers could never lose their hold on the people so long as they were recruited from the experienced statesmen and the merchant princes of the day! 1851

April 26.—I went to the Society of Arts, and got season tickets for the Great Exhibition for myself and daughters. The numbers show that more than 24,000 have been already issued. I gave £3 3*s*. for my ticket, and £2 2*s*. for each of my daughters. Everybody who has been in the building speaks with the most unbounded admiration of the Exhibition itself. Russell saw it this morning. He is not given to excessive praise, but spoke of the sight as "astonishing in the extreme."

May 1.—Went in full-dress with my daughters to the Great Exhibition. We had admission by the Queen's entrance in the park, and got easily into the building. When my daughters were seated, I went downstairs and took my stand with my colleagues on the right of the throne. The Queen came in exactly at 12 and took her seat. I shall not attempt any description of the scene or the ceremony; they were indescribable. I was much affected by them, so were others of a far sterner nature. The Lord Chancellor could not refrain from tears, nor could Bunsen, who told me he was overpowered. There is no exaggeration in the account given in the *Times* of the next day. The grandeur and vast extent of the fairy palace, the multitudes within, almost lost in the distance,

1851. when seen from the end of the nave, the gorgeous display of all productions of art and industry from all corners of the globe—these, with the young Queen, her children, and her husband—the real creator of the wonderful scene—produced an effect such as I never witnessed before, and never shall again. The good conduct and good temper of the thousands within, and the hundreds of thousands without the building, were most striking. The beauty of the women added much to the enchantment of the ceremony, and the rapturous reception of the Queen and the Duke of Wellington as the procession walked through the long avenue of happy human beings filled me with delight.

I did not see the slightest sign of dissatisfaction on any face. All former apprehensions were forgotten and seemed incredible. Except a smart shower, the day was most favourable.

May 18.—The success of the Great Exhibition has been complete as yet, but people still anticipate some mischief when the 1*s.* entrance begins.

June 12.—I read Johnson's "Tour in the Hebrides" for the twentieth time. It seems to me full of wisdom. I marked this maxim: "In political regulations good can never be complete; it can only be predominant."

June 14.—I went to Lady Palmerston's, and there saw Lord Palmerston introduce the Duke of Wellington to General Narvaez! Who could have contemplated such an incident? He is in a sort

of exile, but Palmerston told me he had saved a good deal of money! 1851.

June 23.—Dined with my daughter Charlotte at Lord Jersey's, where was a party of twenty-two. I sat between Count Pahlen and Lord Villiers, and had a pleasant evening; the former is an intelligent, well-informed man, the latter very good-humoured.

There was an Assembly later. Paxton was there and Lord Carlisle introduced him to me, a square-built, middle-sized man, with a large head, good features, expressive eyes, strong black hair, in the vigour of manhood. His tone is rather provincial.

I congratulated him on his escape from burning in the train going down to Derby to the dinner given to his coadjutor, Charles Fox. He said it was a very narrow escape indeed.

N.B.—I read the speech made by Mr. Fox at that dinner. He gave a most interesting account of the construction of the Crystal Palace, and mentioned that, whilst making the drawings with his own hands, he worked for seven weeks no less than eighteen hours a day. He formed his first conception of the size of his great glass house in a moonlight walk last July in Portland Place, when he made up his mind that his glass should cover the whole length, and three times the breadth, and be about the same height as that great street.

June 26.—Went to the Willis Rooms to hear

1851. Mr. Thackeray lecture on the "Humorists of the Last Century." The room was quite full of fine ladies and wits, and many who wished to be thought belonging to that class; in short, a complete "Vanity Fair," as I told Thackeray himself. I had a bad place, and heard very little, and what I did hear did not please me, except his defence of Fielding, which was bold and generous. He tried to be waggish in his allusions to present manners, and raised a good deal of laughter in which I could not join. Macaulay was there, and Thackeray had a word in his praise, which raised a cheer.

As I was going out of my house in the forenoon to-day, I was accosted by an old man, shrivelled and bent, who with a feeble voice asked me if I knew him. I told him I did not. He said, "Scrope Davies." I was much shocked to see the robust, active, lively companion of my youth shrunk to such a remnant of himself, but I had not seen him since he parted from me in Newgate in 1819. I asked him to come into my house or walk with me; he could not do either, but said he would call on me on the following Friday. He is still obliged to live abroad, and continues to retain his King's Fellowship. He will not want it long!

July 3.—Heard Thackeray's last lecture on Sterne and Goldsmith. He read some lines from the "Traveller" with great effect. He was much applauded on taking leave.

July 3.—House of Lords. We had a pitched battle between our Lord Chancellor and Brougham, in consequence of the Lord Chancellor saying that the Bankruptcy Laws had been mended by rash hands. Brougham took this to himself and made a furious attack on the Lord Chancellor, calling him the Prince of Anti-Law Reformers. Truro answered him with great vehemence, and mentioned that Brougham had employed him in drawing up his Bankruptcy Bill. He said the phrase "rash hands" was not applied to Brougham. Brougham rejoined, but in softer terms, and the quarrel ended. Going away I saw Lady Truro, who often comes for the Chancellor, laughing with Brougham, who, she said, "loved her husband." 1851.

July 9.—I took my daughter Charlotte to the Ball at the Guildhall, given to H.M. and the Prince on the occasion of the Great Exhibition. The sight in the streets was splendid indeed. Hundreds of thousands of happy, orderly, loyal people thronged the whole passage from Buckingham Palace to the Guildhall. Inside the Hall the scene was not so satisfactory; the crowd was very great, and not very quiet. The managers of the fête had forgotten to make proper preparations, and even a chair for Prince Albert was forgotten. Corbitt, M.P., handed one across the Queen's knees, for H.R.H. I was on the dais, and stood nearly four hours. The squeezing and the heat were far from agreeable.

1851. *July* 11.—Dined with my daughter at Mr. Van de Weyer's. I had a talk with Grote on the fanaticism of the age. Macaulay came up and joined us; we stopped. It is not safe to talk on such a subject with more than one.

July 18.—Went to a French play with my daughters, and saw Rachel in *Angelo*, a strange, good-for-nothing, but interesting sort of drama, by Victor Hugo, divided into three days. Rachel was marvellous. Her playful—if possible—better than her tragic acting.

July 27.—Dined with my daughter at Disraeli's. Sixteen at dinner, the entertainment very handsome and the host very agreeable and very much like a gentleman. So far as that goes, he will do very well for Secretary of State.

R. Monckton Milnes was there. Very lively. He believes, or pretends to believe, in mesmerism and nonsense of every kind. He is to be married on Thursday, and Disraeli said, "Alas, poor fellow! there is an end of Milnes. You will see him no more."

July 31.—Went to St. George's Church, Hanover Square, to my youngest daughter's marriage to the Honble. Strange Jocelyn.[1]

August 11.—Found a letter from Lord John Russell, saying that he relied on my "very handsome conduct" of last February being repeated, if he felt inclined to ask the beforementioned statesman to join the Government.

[1] Second son of the Earl of Roden.

He added that many thought this juncture would not strengthen the Government, but he thought otherwise. 1851.

August 12.—Answered Lord John Russell that I was in his hands, and that, whatever the opinion of others might be, it was enough for me to know he thought that by offering my place to another, he might strengthen the Government. I heard a few days after that the offer had again been refused.

October 15.—Went to the Crystal Palace to witness the closing scene of the Great Exhibition. An immense crowd of thirty or forty thousand spectators. The Prince was very much applauded when entering and speaking, and on going away.

I stayed some time after the ceremony, and wandered about the building, already stripped of many of its treasures; a melancholy sight!

October 16.—Cabinet. Foreign politics. Palmerston gave us a satisfactory account of Portuguese affairs, at least so far as we were concerned. Some one asked, "And what is to happen in France?" "Ah," said Palmerston, "will you tell me what horse is to win the Derby next year?"

Russell remarked that it was highly desirable to settle our financial schemes before an extended suffrage gave constituencies, which might choose members who would oppose our whole system of taxation. I could not help saying: "But why,

1851. then, extend the franchise, which, according to your own foreboding, may produce such lamentable results?" At which there was a general cheer from almost everybody, and Russell said rather testily, "You were not one of those who made the Reform Bill." "No," said I, "I was not in the Cabinet, but I had something to do with it." "That may be," replied Russell, and then he mentioned that Mark Phillips and others had got frightened by the Bill, but how he applied the remark I do not know.

The fact, then, seems to be that we are to have a Reform Bill merely because Lord John Russell, without consulting any one, promised one, and in spite even of his own misgivings.

November 3.—Cabinet. Lord John opened the business, saying that Palmerston and he had differed on a matter which ought to be submitted to the Cabinet. He then went on to say that the aspect of foreign affairs was very menacing, that in France it was doubtful whether Socialism would be triumphant, or a despotic Government asked with the absolute Sovereigns of the Continent. That in either case England would be in great difficulties, and that her course now ought to be to persevere in her neutral policy. He then went on to state that Kossuth had, since his arrival in England, evidently resolved that this country should be, or appear to be, on the side of democracy, and that he had shown so much talent, and so much moderation—so far as England was con-

cerned—that he was evidently producing much effect. He had, however, denounced Austria and Russia in positive terms. Cobden, in a most unaccountable manner had joined him, and various corporate and other bodies, London amongst the rest had welcomed him. Now if Kossuth, on his first landing, had waited at Lord Palmerston's to thank him for procuring his liberation from Turkey and his being given up to Austria, that might have been natural; but he did not. He had commenced his progress, and preached his crusade, and had chosen his line, and the question now was whether Palmerston should receive and thereby recognise an Austrian rebel, condemned in Austrian Courts of Justice. Lord J. Russell did not think he was called upon to do so. He had communicated that opinion to Palmerston, who would now state his views. 1851.

Palmerston smiled and said, being so called upon, he must speak, and he did speak, and so well that Russell said to me privately the next day that if he had made that speech in the House of Commons he would have carried the audience with him. He concluded by declaring that, in his opinion, it would be degrading our own character to allow Austria or Russia, or any Power to dictate to us who should or should not receive hospitality or civility from a British Secretary of State.

I do not think any of us entirely agreed with him. I remarked that it would be singular if

1851. Kossuth, having failed to upset the Austrian Government, should succeed in upsetting ours, at which there was a general shout of laughter. It was settled at last that it should be intimated to Kossuth that it would be better not to ask an interview with Palmerston. Palmerston received this decision very quietly, and only begged that no hint of this controversy should pass beyond the walls of the Cabinet.

December 2.—Found Palmerston reading a letter from Lord Normanby, giving his opinion on the state of parties and Louis Napoleon's character and projects; amongst other things he mentioned that Louis Napoleon had lately said to him that a Representative Government was very good for England that had an aristocracy, but did not suit France that had none. France might have a Constitutional Government, but not a Parliamentary Government.

Saw from the *Times* that Louis Napoleon had this morning struck his blow, dissolved the Assembly, appealed to the people, asked to be re-elected for ten years, with dictatorial powers to frame a new Constitution, etc.

We went into the defences of the country. Baring and Fox Maule told us they did not intend any decrease of Army and Navy—ought we not to *in*crease? It seems Lord Hardinge has had a long talk with Sir D. Dundas on the subject. He is alarmed, and says it is tempting Providence that the richest country in the world should be the

least defended, when within a stone's-throw of a den of mad tigers. 1851.

December 4.—Cabinet. Russell told us he had a very disagreeable business to lay before us, and he then read a letter from the Queen complaining strongly of Lord Palmerston's answer to the addresses from Finsbury and Marylebone, as being offensive to H.M.'s allies, and preaching revolutionary doctrines. The Queen ended by desiring that there might be a change in the Foreign Office. Russell informed us that he told the Queen such a change would break up the Government, whereupon the Queen gave way as to getting rid of Palmerston, and said that she would not change the Government under *present* circumstances, but she desired Russell to lay the case before the Cabinet and call on the Ministers generally to consider and apply a remedy to the *grievance* of which she complained!

Russell next read a letter which Palmerston had written to him, treating the matter very lightly, and attributing the report to some "penny-a-liner," who had exaggerated the importance of what he said. This letter Russell sent to the Queen, who returned it without any remark, thereby showing that she was not satisfied with the explanation made either by Russell or by Palmerston. "This being the case," said Russell, "the Queen appeals to the Cabinet at large, and I want to know their opinion."

Palmerston said he had been imprudent in not

1851. taking care that there were no reporters, and in not reading the addresses beforehand; but, as to what he said on that occasion, there was nothing he had not said in Parliament and at Tiverton, and which he would not say again.

Lord Grey suggested that the Queen ought to be told that the Cabinet did not approve of Palmerston's language. I said (warmly) that I never would be a party to any such declaration, and I added that I looked on the whole complaint as a continuation of the *set* made againt Palmerston. I *had* disapproved his intention to receive Kossuth as strongly as any one, but this was quite a different matter. It was agreed Russell should speak to the Queen, and make whatever explanation he thought expedient. This was the "common-sense" decision.

December 7.—I had a long walk with Macaulay. He was all for Louis Napoleon. I asked him when his next volumes were likely to come out. He laughed, and said people thought writing history was a work of imagination; and he repeated Bacon's fine comparison of the historian. "Not to the ant, nor to the spider, but to the bee that collects materials far and wide, and transmutes them into honey."

December 24.—Read in the *Times* that Lord Palmerston had resigned! We were all thunderstruck, myself as much as anybody; but, calling to mind late discussions in the Cabinet and the Queen's letter to Russell, I began to be less sur-

prised. I foresaw at once that there was an end of 1851
the present Cabinet, at least as now formed. Rather a disagreeable damper of Christmas holidays!

Saw the article in the *Times*, which Palmerston afterwards informed me gave the true reason for his dismissal, for dismissed he was. His conversation with Waleskwi, in which he approved of the *coup d'état* was the immediate pretext.

Palmerston told me his retirement had taken him by surprise, although he had been long aware of the determination to get rid of him. Indeed, Russell had always proposed to him to leave the Foreign Office for some other Department, and on the first occasion offered him the lead of the House of Commons, as he himself intended to go to the Lords. The second proposal was made after his victory on Greek affairs. Palmerston declined it, saying he, of course, would resign if necessary, but could not change his views, as that would give a triumph to the vote of the Lords over the majority of the Commons.

Russell reported this to the Queen, and then came the famous letter which Russell read in the House of Commons the other night. I told Palmerston that many thought he ought to have resigned on that communication being made to him, and that I thought so. He said, "No, in the first place that course would have brought me into personal collision with my sovereign, that sovereign being a woman. Secondly, the rule of conduct prescribed by the letter was the right

1851. rule, though the tone and temper of the letter were offensive; and thirdly, by resigning he would only have fallen into the trap laid for him." It was worded for him to resign. He condemned Russell for reading the letter in Parliament, and said it was unconstitutional and ungentlemanlike so to do. He told me that, on being dismissed, he had written to Russell stating his indignation at the conduct pursued towards him.

Of course he said that their foreign politics had reference to the *persons* on the several thrones, much more than to their Government, or politics, or the nations thereby governed.

December 26.—A great sensation made by the *fall* of Lord Palmerston, which supersedes the decreasing interest in the election of Louis Napoleon by more than 7,000,000 of votes against 600,000.

December 30.—I had a letter from Lord John Russell telling me that, in consequence of his calamitous separation from Palmerston, he had resolved to strengthen his Cabinet, and was to see the Duke of Newcastle, to whom he intended to offer the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland. He wished to be able to tell the Duke that some of his friends, such as Gladstone and Cardwell, would be provided with places in the Cabinet, and particularly hoped he might say that Gladstone would be President of the India Board. He said: "You behaved so very handsomely to me

before, that I reckon on the same generous conduct now." He concluded by saying: "I said before that I should be glad if you would stay in the Cabinet without an office, and such is still my wish." 1851.

December 31.—I wrote to Lord John Russell in these terms: "Do as you please in regard to me. I shall be in London on the 8th, and will call on you before the Cabinet."

January 12, 1852.—I went with my daughter Charlotte to Bowood to dine and sleep. The Shelburnes there, also Jim Howard and Lady Howard, "Poodle" Byng and Senior. Lord Lansdowne, as usual, most agreeable, but not so lively. His wife has not been dead a year. He was very communicative with me on late events. Speaking of Palmerston's dismissal, he told me that the Queen expressed herself to him at Windsor perfectly convinced that the Government would be stronger without Palmerston. Lansdowne mentioned this as a most unaccountable view of political parties. 1852.

January 14.—Cabinet. The meeting looked strange without Palmerston. Not a word was said about him, nor his name mentioned, except by Lord Grey, who said that, besides other difficulties, Palmerston might be a formidable opponent.

Lord Seymour walked away with me and complained of the irritability of these Cabinets. I said the meeting of this day was like all other

1852. meetings in Downing Street. He wondered if Peel's Cabinet Councils were like ours. I had no doubt they were, except that he was ruder than Russell.

January 15.—Cabinet. Russell produced a printed draft of the proposed Reform Bill, and went through it clause by clause. Lord Lansdowne declared he could not introduce such a measure in the House of Lords, and labour to convince others of a truth which he did not acknowledge conscientiously himself. Lord Seymour thought, on the whole, the boroughs could not be maintained, and preferred anything to the breaking up of the Government or the party on the question of Reform. I urged the folly of being forced to do what we thought wrong, because half a dozen writers in newspapers urged us to it. I did not believe the people generally cared about the Bill or called for reform. Nothing was settled, either as to Government or Reform!

January 24.—I had a letter from Lord John Russell telling me that Fox Maule was to be President of the India Board in order to make a vacancy at the War Office, and fill that place by some recruit. The letter went on to press me to stay in the Cabinet, and concluded by thanking me for having supported him since the year of our Lord 1834, when he took the lead of the party.

I called on Lord John Russell and told him I

could not stay in the Cabinet without office, as I should thereby lose the estimation in which I was held, and therefore should be of no use to the party. For this reason I must resign. 1852.

I saw the Duke of Bedford, who said all sorts of kind things to me, and reminded me of old Reform times and struggles.

He mentioned that once at Windsor he told the Queen that he was the oldest reformer in Parliament. "What," said the Queen, "older than Lord Lansdowne?"

"Oh yes, madam; not an older man, but an older reformer. And than Lord Fitzwilliam, madam." They both sat opposite to the Queen and the Duke at the time.

February 5.—Went to Windsor Castle. Rather a large party. Lord and Lady Ashburton, Lord and Lady Minto, Lord and Lady Mahon, Lord and Lady Breadalbane, and our dear Macaulay, to my great joy, walking up to the Castle.

Macaulay congratulated me on being relieved of the trammels of office. In reply I only said that it was not "a service of perfect freedom."

We had thirty-four at table, and, as I was within one of Macaulay, I had an agreeable dinner. Lady Breadalbane was on my right, and made me laugh by remarking the mistake of pairing Lord Anglesey to walk to dinner with Lady Minto. He has only one leg and she uses a crutch. The dinner passed off, as usual, with music and the odious bagpipers.

1852. Had some conversation with the Prince about the Exhibition and Glass Palace. He seemed to be of opinion that it ought to be taken down, but said that the Commissioners had handed it over to the contractors, and he had no more to do with it. He remarked that there was not much business in the Lords on the first day of the session. I sat down at the Queen's table next to Lady Douro, and had some talk with her on family matters. She was looking very beautiful.

February 6.—We dined at a quarter to seven in order to go to the play, *King John*, performed in the Rubens' Gallery. Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kean were King John and Constance. They both acted very well, and the whole play was respectably got up. Arthur was performed in a very effectual and too affecting style by a young girl. I was sitting next to Macaulay, who, with myself, was moved to tears by Constance and Arthur. He said, "It is painful," and so it was. The mother lamenting the loss of her child came home to me; I thought I should be obliged to leave my seat. The Queen spoke to me about the scene afterwards. We applauded a good deal. H.M. is pleased at the clapping, no disapprobation is allowed.

It is a very agreeable way of passing the evening at Court, far better, as Macaulay remarked, than being condemned to cards or chess. However, Macaulay told me, on going to bed, that he was happy the visit was almost over. I had

been reading his Essay on Madame d'Arblay in the morning, and reminded him of his strictures on a court life. He repeated that he wondered how any one, who could earn a livelihood by sweeping a crossing, would submit to it. Nevertheless, to my mind the Queen's rooms are not more disagreeable than any other lady's drawing-rooms; indeed, I think them less so. 1852.

Macaulay seems a great favourite with the ladies; even dull Lady Douro was awakened by his sallies at the breakfast-table.

February 9.—Took my last leave of the Board of Control.

February 21.—Found, to my infinite surprise, that Palmerston last night had carried his amendment to embody the General instead of the Local Militia. Thereupon Lord John Russell signified he should not go on with his measure, and moved that the Bill be brought in by Mr. Bernal and Lord Viscount Palmerston. This was considered a resignation, but any doubt that might remain was dispelled by Sir Benjamin Hall, who, after blaming Palmerston, bluntly recommended Russell to go out, and let the Protectionists try their hand. On this Russell rose and said he thought he had already been sufficiently explicit as to the consequences of the vote, and so the short debate ended and members dispersed. I believe all was over by half-past eight o'clock. *So here is an end of the Russell Ministry*, and exactly on the same day of the same month as on last year.

1852 The *Times* had a funny article on the chance of Palmerston's being sent for, and offering the Foreign Office to Russell, giving him for his guidance the same letter of July 1850 which the Queen ordered Russell to hand to Palmerston.

Palmerston seems to have made a most effective speech, and in my own opinion his views were sound. Whether he chose the fitting moment I do not say or know, but certainly he expressed the same opinions in the Cabinet.

I received a letter from Lord John Russell as follows:

"*February* 21.

"MY DEAR HOBHOUSE,

"It will give me great pleasure, in going out of office, if you will accept the vacant Grand Cross of the Bath, as an acknowledgment of your long and good services to the Crown. The Queen is prepared to grant, and Lord Grey to recommend it.

"I remain, yours truly,

"J. RUSSELL."

Walking about, I met several persons of all parties, who were in perfect amazement at the catastrophe; but the majority of them thought the event fortunate for Russell, as he would have been beaten on the Caffre[1] debate. I do not think

[1] In May 1851 the Hottentots had risen in rebellion against the colonists in Caffraria. The colonists expressed some dissatisfaction with Sir Harry Smith for not taking more prompt action than he did. He replied that serious operations before adequate reinforcements arrived would only provoke a general rising. The rebellion was finally suppressed in April 1852.

I met a single man who regretted it, though many blamed Palmerston. 1852.

Dined with Palmerston. Lady Palmerston was in great spirits, and talked of the debate of the night before at which she was present. She said the cheering was immense, and that Palmerston supposed Russell was glad of an opportunity to go out, for there was really no occasion for it.

Lady Palmerston afterwards had an assembly, which was densely thronged—all was hubbub, every one there, from the Duke of Wellington downwards, excepting the Cabinet, of whom only Clanricarde was present.

Many spoke to me, and all in the same strain as those I had seen in the morning. The thing was soon to come, and the sooner it came the better. The Duke of Newcastle said this to me emphatically. I did not see a sorrowful face in the room.

I showed Russell's letter to Palmerston, who said it was very handsome and very creditable to Russell, and I ought not to hesitate to accept the proposal. The Speaker also did not see why I should hesitate: so, if there be wisdom in a multitude of counsellors, I am not likely to do wrong in this matter.

Wrote to Lord John Russell as follows:

"*February* 21.

"MY DEAR LORD JOHN,

"I now write to say that I accept your kind offer, and beg you will convey to the Queen

1852. my grateful acknowledgments for the honour which, at your recommendation, H.M. condescends to confer on me.

"I remain, very truly,
"Your obliged,
"BROUGHTON."

February 23.—Lord Derby saw the Queen yesterday, and is now employed in forming an Administration.

February 27.—Went to the House of Lords. It was very full in all parts. Lord Derby spoke for nearly an hour. After thanking Lord Lansdowne and making a mistake about his farewell, as if he was about to retire altogether from Parliament, he went on to say that he came into power suddenly and by suspense, but thought the transaction of last year ought not to be repeated, so he had accepted the task of forming a Government, knowing he was in a minority in the Commons, and not sure of a majority in the Lords.

March 13.—Disraeli returned for Buckingham without opposition. He made a long speech, but as mysterious as those of his colleagues, with more ingenuity of course. I hear that he is in great pecuniary difficulties, and ran the risk of being arrested whilst out of Parliament.

Saw Lord and Lady John Russell at Lady Palmerston's assembly; so that breach is healed.

March 15.—Went to the House of Lords and heard the debate opened by Lord Beaumont as

to Ministerial policy, when Lord Derby made a speech that called forth great cheering from his party, and has been exceedingly cried up in the *Times*, and bepraised in private. 1852.

Lord Beaumont amusingly called on him to declare with which horse he intended to win. I heard afterwards from Labouchere that Lord Derby told Lord Beaumont privately he intended to win with the second horse: "No Protection." This can hardly be true.

March 17.—At Lady Derby's assembly in Downing Street. Lord J. Russell and his wife were there, and a good many of our people. Thiers, who was also there, was much struck by this social intercourse of politicians most violently opposed, and using at the time very hard words in Parliament. Lady Derby said to me, "It is very good of you to come."

April 22.—I was invested with the Order of the Bath at Buckingham Palace. H.M. smiled when she gave me her hand to kiss for the third time in the ceremony: a very unusual honour, as I was told!

THE END

EPITAPH

ON LORD BROUGHTON'S TOMB

AT KENSAL GREEN

WRITTEN BY

THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD, 1869

"HE WAS EMINENT ALIKE IN POLITICAL AND LITERARY LIFE, AND, AFTER A PUBLIC CAREER OF SUCCESS AND HONOUR, FOUND UNBROKEN HAPPINESS IN DOMESTIC REPOSE, WHICH HE ADORNED BY HIS RARE GIFTS OF SCHOLARSHIP AND ELOQUENCE."

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